

M E M O I R S

OF THE

LIFE AND ADMINISTRATION

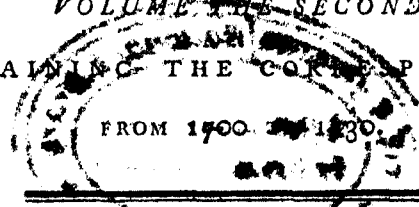
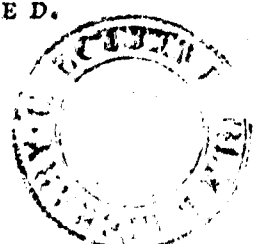
OF

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE,
EARL OF ORFORD.

WITH ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE AND AUTHENTIC PAPERS,
NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOLUME THE SECOND,
CONTAINING THE CORRESPONDENCE
FROM 1700 TO 1730.

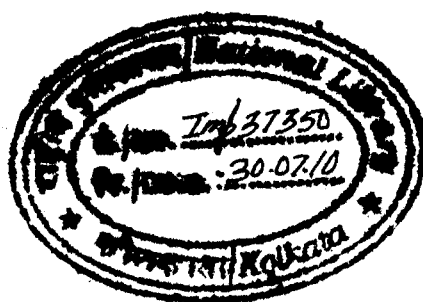


By WILLIAM COXE, M.A. F.R.S. F.A.S.
RECTOR OF BEMERTON.

LONDON:

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1798.



ADVERTISEMENT

AS the sources which have supplied these authentic documents, are gratefully mentioned in the preface to the first volume, it will be only necessary to add a few explanations.

The materials are arranged under eight periods, corresponding with the periods in the narrative.

The order of date has been usually preserved, excepting in such parts as relate to a specific subject, as the *South Sea*, *Atterbury*, *Bolingbroke*, &c.

The orthography has been in most places scrupulously followed.

The collection to which each letter belongs, is specified in the margin, under the titles of *Orford*, *Walpole*, *Hardwicke*, *Townshend*, *Stanhope*, *Harrington*, *Waldegrave*, *Grantham*, *Middleton*, *Sydney*, *Melcombe*, *Devonshire*, *Egremont*, *Campbell*, *Onslow*, *Weston*, *Poyntz*, *Keene*, *Etough*, and *Astle papers*.

The

ADVERTISEMENT.

The *letters* and *papers*, which are *copies* or *draughts*, are noted in the margin. Most of the other letters, which are not thus distinguished, were either written or signed by the correspondents. In the table of contents, the author has endeavoured as much as possible to discriminate the respective papers and letters by appropriate marks.

The autographs, with *a*.

The letters which were only signed by the correspondents, with *f*.

The draughts, with *d*.

The autograph draughts, *a. d*.

Those which are doubtful or uncertain, have no mark.

Translations, with *t*.

As the printer has in a few instances omitted the word *copy* in the margin, the copies are also distinguished by *c*.

It may be necessary, however, to apprise the reader, that most of these copies are either transcripts from the originals or official, or were taken by the order, and under the inspection of the original writers.

Four plates are given, containing fac similes of the handwriting of George the first, George the second, queen Caroline, sir Robert Walpole, the Pretender, and of many others, whose letters appear in the correspondence.

Mon Cousin
 Le bon Cousin
 George R

HAND WRITING OF GEORGE 2nd

I believe all you propose may be of very great use, & as there is no likelihood of an accommodation wth the Com^{rs}. I think it right to be in as great a friendship & intimacy wth France as poss^{ble}; I desire only all this may be kept very private.

GR

HAND WRITING OF QUEEN CAROLINE.

je pense que si vous m'avez
 personnellement communiqué l'affaire, l'ami

Caroline

FAC SIMILES OF THE HAND WRITING OF SIR R. WALPOLE.

I am ever my Lord
Yours
R. Walpole.

Quid in a tera in propositi vira
non circumdita prava julianum
minter quatit estid —

But if the Duke, from
an incapacity of bearing the
burthen of another war, ^{tho} when
once begun, no man can foresee
or determine the ^{con-} conclusion

Circumstances alter things. Distant & remote must
yield to present dangers

My Crime all told, is my long con-
tinuance in office, ^{long}
In other words, the ^{long} exclusion of
those who now combine against me
Tryford. Horington
July. 28th. 1744.

Paper 60.10

Townsend

W. H. H. H.

John Hancock

W. H. H. H.

Hannington

Boyns

B. H. H.

Watson

W. H. H. H.

Flay

Argyll

H. H. H.

Argyll & Greenwich

W. H. H. H.

Marborough

Hundred

James Hancock

H. H. H.

Carteret

Custerfield

J. M. Pullen

Bath

J. Compton

Wilmington

Midton

John Brodrick

J. John Brodrick

J. H. H.

For Mr. Plunkett. Thursday morning

There is only to direct you not to mention -
any thing of business to any body till I have seen
you. I have not ^{much} leisure to night expecting -
visits, but however I shall be glad to be your alone
& agree with you the most friendly way & manner
for your company & me to meet. The ladies -
H. Kennedy will bring you very privately to my
house to night about eight a clock

H Buckingham
Bolingbroke

James R.
Fra. Roffin.
Wm. Shippen

Kendall
Darlington

Boothmer
Robertson

Wm. Langdon

Baron de Wassenar
Pavenvoorde

Johns Square
die 7 januarij 1793

Wm. Shippen

E R R A T A.

| | | |
|-----------|--------|---|
| Page 5, . | line 6 | from bottom, for <i>Laintin</i> , read <i>Quintin</i> . |
| — 39, — | 6, | for <i>their</i> , read <i>they</i> . |
| — 60, — | 8 | from bottom, insert <i>can</i> before <i>render</i> . |
| — 79, — | | read <i>Secretary Stanhope to Stephen Poyntz</i> . |
| — 92, — | 12, | before <i>majesty</i> , insert <i>his</i> . |
| — 97, — | | the heads of the letter should be, <i>Jacobitism loses ground in the home counties—</i> the inland and western parts of England and Wales, &c. |
| — 195, — | 20, | for <i>Henden</i> , read <i>Fleydon</i> . |
| — 197, — | 11, | after <i>above</i> , a comma. |
| — 229, — | 1, | for <i>him</i> , insert <i>Cardinal Fleury</i> . |
| — 263, — | | the letter dated July 23—Aug. 3, should precede that dated Aug. 12, 261. |
| — 299, — | 15, | after <i>will</i> , insert <i>be</i> . |
| — 300, — | 8, | for <i>of</i> , read <i>to</i> . |
| — 316, — | 5 | from bottom, after <i>will</i> , insert <i>be</i> . |
| — 318, — | 12 | from bottom, for <i>letter</i> , read <i>latter</i> . |
| — 397, — | 13; | after <i>unpunished</i> , a comma. |
| — 448, — | 9, | for <i>thence</i> , read <i>hence</i> . |
| — 507, — | 4 | from bottom, after <i>opposition</i> , insert <i>who</i> . |
| — 519, — | 18, | for <i>George the First</i> , read <i>George the Second</i> . |
| — 620, — | 12, | for <i>count</i> , read <i>countess</i> , line 13, for <i>Dr</i> , read <i>don</i> . |

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| 1703 | Oct. 28. | James Stanhope to Robert Walpole <i>a.</i> | 4 | |
| 1704 | Oct. 12. | Spencer Compton to Robert Walpole <i>a.</i> | <i>ib.</i> | |
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| — | May 21. | The earl of Waldegrave to Horace Walpole | 697 | |
| — | May 23. | The earl of Waldegrave to the earl of Chesterfield <i>a. d.</i> | <i>ib.</i> | |
| — | May 12. | Lord Townshend to M. de Bouffet <i>a. d.</i> | 698 | |
| — | May 16. | Lord Townshend to M. Stein <i>d.</i> | 699 | |
| | | Lord Townshend to M. Slingelandt <i>d.</i> | <i>ib.</i> | |
| 1730 | May 23. | Pensionary Slingelandt to lord Townshend <i>f.</i> | 700 | |
| 1738 | June 2. | Thomas Townshend to Stephen Poyntz <i>a.</i> | 701 | |
| — | June 25. | Rev. Dr. Conyers Middleton to the Hon. Thomas Townshend <i>a.</i> | 702 | |

M E M O I R S
OF
SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Original Correspondence and authentic Papers.

PERIOD THE FIRST.
To the Accession of George the First;
1700—1714.

1700.

FRANCIS HARE* TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Congratulates him on his marriage.

DEAR BOB,

August 8, 1700.

YOUR brother communicated to me the news you sent him last night. I condoled upon the occasion, told him he must now lay aside all thoughts of being elder brother, and that he had nothing left but to study hard. . What he has to say in answer to your news he tells me you shall hear this post. Dearest Bob, for my own part I have so much desired to see this day, especially since I saw H. Bland, that I cannot but take the first opportunity to give you joy. There is no friend I wish better to, none, for whom I should be more concerned for their doing that well, on which their happiness so much depends. Dear Bob, though I am a stranger both to the person and character of your lady, I dare trust your judgment in the choice you have made, and therefore heartily congratulate your conclusion of this affair, and wish you all the joy that a lady agreeable to yourself can give you; and then

Period I.
1700 to 1714.
1700.
Orford
Papers.

* Afterwards bishop of Chichester.

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period I.
1700 to 1714

I am sure I can wish you nothing more : if I were to draw your lady's picture by your own, I should have before me so many good qualities, as must needs make her very agreeable and you very happy. But I must not by a long letter steal from your lady the minutes which you have made her's. 'Tis odds but this finds you either with her or thinking of her, and a long letter would only be a long interruption, therefore I shall add nothing further, but to wish you all in one word, wish you may be as happy in your lady as she will be in you. These are, Dear Bob, the sincerest wishes of your very affectionate, &c.

D. B. You will pardon the haste of this, and conclude, that if I had been less a friend, I should have written with more care.

FRANCIS HARE TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Condoles with him on the death of his father.—Hopes he will answer the expectations of his friends.

DEAR SIR,

November 16, 1700.

1700.
Orford
Papers.

I Hope with this you receive your brother safe after a tedious and melancholy journey ; and desire you would let him come back as soon as you can, his absence being at present very inconvenient for him. I should upon this occasion suggest such considerations as might alleviate the sense of your great loss ; but the very little time I have had since I heard it is run away in thinking whether I should write or no. The respect due to your father's memory, and the great affection I owe to and have for yourself make me not know how not to write ; and yet the trouble and affliction this finds you under, for the loss of so near and dear a friend, which your good nature I am sure gives you a very tender sense of, makes me think writing but an interruption, and unreasonable. Give me leave, Dear Bob, at least to say thus much, that the first reflection this news gave me was, that you had a great deal more reason to be glad it did not happen sooner, than you have to be sorry that it has happened now, which added to the long expectations and apprehensions you have been a great while used to, together with the very little comfort he had in living, or was ever like to have, these considerations I think will very much abate the tenderest sense of your best nature for the loss of the dearest friend. Dear Bob, I can't forbear putting you in mind how many eyes you have now upon you, and there is no greater happiness I can wish you than to answer the expectations you have raised in those that know you ; I with pleasure reckon myself in that number, and desire you would always believe to be with the greatest sincerity, &c.

HORACE

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

3

1702.

Period I.
1700 to 1714.

HORACE WALPOLE TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Mentions the discontents among the fellows of St. John's college, on his seconding the motion for abjuring the pretended prince of Wales.

DEAR BROTHER,

February 28, 1701—2.

NO sooner had I enquired whether I should be expelled for staying so long, but I was told that you would be excommunicated; for the master, tutor, pupils, fophs, batchelors, and all that are non-jurors of St. John's, or all that are as bad as non-jurors, are resolved to issue a bull against you, for speaking it against them, and their little dapper king the other side of the water: some say you moved, but no one seconded you, others that you moved but the speaker reprimanded you, with a long speech in commendation of Dr. G—r. But I am told that Mr. H—d's account is, that you vehemently inveighed against Dr. G—r, that though master of a college he never took the oaths himselfe, and tolerated thirty-five non-jurors fellows of the college. As soon as I recovered myselfe from this violent attack, and with a mouthfull of sweet air was refreshed from the strong jacobitical blast, I answered, I was sure my brother would never be ashamed to own out of the house, what he had spoke within, especially in supporting this government, and removing all obstacles against it, that there was no need of fathering lies upon him, for I believe he had sayd truth enough to doo the non-juror's business; that you seconded the motion for their taking the oath of abjuration, and it past without opposition at all; and lastly assur'd 'em, this house of commons was no whetstone for jacobitical teeth, and therefore they might bark long enough without biting; and by a late* instance their strength proved so weak in this University that all they cou'd say or doe, wou'd make 'em no dangerous enemies to any but themselves, and so left 'em to consider whether they could not swallow an oath for excluding a fictitious prince, and popish superstition hereafter, as well as they cou'd lies and scandall against those that are for maintaining the present lawfull king and the protestant religion, and I believe they are not better satisfied with my defence of you than they were before with Mr. H—d's accusation.

1702.

Orford
Papers.

* He alludes to the election of Henry Boyle, who was chosen member for the University in opposition to the tories and jacobites.

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period I.
1700 to 1714. Poor John Willis begins to grudge the thanks he gave you, for resigning, for by this oath of abjuration you are going to undo the kindness you did him before, but I am apt to believe his golden fellowship will prove a sufficient vehicle for such a bitter pill.

1703.

JAMES STANHOPE* TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Presses him, in the name of his friends, to attend parliament.

DEAR SIR,

London, October 28, 1703.

1703.
 Orford
 Papers.

SEVERAL of your friends having heard that you doe not design to come up till Christmas, I am commissioned by a full committee of them to expostulate with you if it be so. My lord Hartington, lord Halifax, Mr. Smith, and lord Sunderland, are particularly solicitous about it, and doe think that for what concerns the publick, you had as good not come at all. Having thus told you their opinions, I do not suppose any thing I can say from myself will be of any weight; but you will easily believe that I should be very gladd both on the publick and my own account, to have your good company for the little time I shall have to be amongst you, and I fancy we shall have some sport before the king of Spain† can fail. My lord Cornwallis has promised us to use his interest to send you to us. Your brother Shorter seems very well pleased with his designed expedition. Pray give my most humble service to your lady, and believe that I am with great sincerity dear W. your most affectionate, &c.

1704.

SPENCER COMPTON‡ TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Report that Harley is to quit the chair.—Strongly presses him to attend parliament.

October 12, 1704.

1704.
 Orford
 Papers.

NOT having heard from you since I writ last, I was in hopes to have seen you in town by this time; if a letter would not be too great a trouble, I

* Afterwards earl Stanhope.

† The archduke Charles, afterwards emperor, acknowledged king of Spain by the allies, in opposition to Philip, duke of Anjou, whom Louis XIV. supported.

‡ Afterwards sir Spencer Compton, speaker of the house of commons, and earl of Wilmington.

should

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

8

should be glad to know whether you design to be in town at the opening of the sessions. It is now reported afresh that Mr. Harley will quit the chair, and that the court will set up the sollicitour, but that the other Tories will try for Mr. Bromley; I do not know whether you will think this contest worth your attendance, but sure some good may be struck out of this division. Lord Hartington continues ill of the gout, and Mr. Smith has a deluxion on his eyes, and if Mr. Walpole should be absent, the poor Whigs must lose any advantage that may offer itself, for want of a leader. I hope therefore you will not disappoint your friends, who all desire your company, but none with more earnestness and sincerity than, &c.

Period I.
1700 to 1714.

1706.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO HORACE WALPOLE.*

Supposes the siege of Barcelona to be raised.—Reports of changes in the administration not authenticated.—The commissioners for the union with Scotland principally all Whigs.—Will probably agree in a scheme to be laid before the parliament.

DEAR HORACE,

May the 13th, 1706.

I Received your letter from Lisbon, and likewise your second from Gibraltar. I take this opportunity of writing to you by Mr. Tinback, who I hope will find his excellency upon duty in Barcelona, which we take for granted is relieved by the silence of all the French letters that have come by the three last mails, but have yett noe particulars.—The wine for the duke of Somerset, &c. is come safe, and proves very good. I shall drink your good health in it, and wish you all the good success imaginable.

1706.

Stanhope
Papers.

I am butt just returned from Norfolk, and found the town full of expectations of alterations and removes: butt there has been nothing done, except sir J. Bland turned out and succeeded by sir W. St. Laintin in the revenue of Ireland.—I suppose you have heard of the commission of an union with Scotland: 'tis altogether constituted of Whigs, lords, and commoners; lord Somers, lord Wharton, lord Townsend, &c.; the speaker, lord Hartington, Mr. Boyle, &c.; one and thirty for each nation. They meet daily, and are very busy. What propositions are on foot is a great secret, butt they

* Horatio, afterwards lord Walpole, was at this period private secretary to James, afterwards earl Stanhope, ambassador to the archduke Charles, acknowledged king of Spain by the allies, who was then engaged in defending Barcelona.

seem

Period I. seem to think the commissioners of both nations will certainly agree in a scheme
 1700 to 1714. to be laid before the two parliaments.

Lord Hallifax is gone over to Hanover to present the garter to the young prince, the act for the naturalization of the princess Sophia, and the Regency-act. —My brother Gal.* continues still upon the Lynn station, where he finds the sweet that tempts him to continue there, contrary to my opinion: 'tis not yet known whither sir Cloudfly Shovel goes; but an expedition seems resolved upon, with a body of land forces on board to be commanded by my† who has his commission already; butt I suppose of this design waits the fate of Barcelona. I shall be mightily glad to see your next dated from Barcelona. Give a thousand services to his excellency. Methinks it would read very well to see Madrid at the top of a letter. When I know where to write to you I shall send you the occurrences of this place, as what passes among you will be very acceptable to, Dear Brother, &c.

1707.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO HORACE WALPOLE.

Proceedings in the house of commons since his departure.—Lord Rivers's expedition.—Scotch union.—Continuance of the bank.

DEAR HORACE,

February 12, 1706—7.

1707.
 Stanhope
 Papers.

I Take this opportunity to give you a short account of our proceedings since you left us. All things were very quiett in parliament till the Christmas holidays, but the cabals of that recess produced fresh play: the first attack was in the committee of supply, where a demand was made for nine hundred and odd thousand pounds advanced to the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene, expended on my lord Rivers's expedition over and above the supplies given the last session of parliament; they carried this so far that they moved a censure upon the ministry for it; it was a long and warm debate, and upon the division we carried it in favour of the service, 211 against 105. There has little happened since very materiall till the Scotch union came before us; they debated it at first and spoke directly against the first article of the union, but could make nothing of it, soe that we proceeded through all the articles in

* Galfridus, third surviving brother. "He was captain of the Lion in queen Anne's wars, and was attacked by five French ships on the coast of Italy against three English, two of which deserted him, but his own he brought off after fighting bravely, and having his arm shot off." *Ædes Walpolianæ*, p. 43.

† Words torn off,—probably, lord Rivers.

the

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

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the comittee, which were yesterday reported, and agreed to in the house without any amendments, and a bill ordered for the ratification of the articles. There came a bill from the lords for the security of the church upon the union; this afforded new matter of debate. The enemy would have amended the bill, in which the whole design was to reflect upon the archbishop or bishops who drew the bill, but we would admitt of noe alterations. The division was 208, 167, that I hope now we shall hear noe more of the church, having passed that bill without any amendement. We are going this day into the comittee of ways and moans, when the continuance of the bank will be the subject of debate; it will meet all the opposition the party is able to make, but by our former successe I question not but we shall get this over. This will be good news for his excellency, for bank-stock will rise at least twenty per cent. and Croply John will make the most of it. There has been noe alteration or remove since you left England, nor doe I hear of any such discourse.

Period I.
1700 to 1714.

I hope your master* is better satisfied since your arrivall than I hear he has been. I understand the tenor of all his late letters has been to desire leave to come home; I have nothing to doe nor am I proper to advise him, but I cannot but think, since the government shows such a disposition to make him easy in all things reasonable, it will not look altogether soe well, for him to quitt a service he is soe far engaged in, contrary to the sence of all his friends, but this is nothing to me.

I cannot tell what reception you have mett with from your great generall; I hear he has expressed himself very familiarly with you and your master in some of his letters, and very ill returned the tenderneffe and caution that you showed in regard to him. I heartily wish his excellency and you all prosperity and successe, and am with the greatest sincerity yours most affectionately.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO HORACE WALPOLE.

Apologises for not writing sooner, on account of his sister's marriage.—Parliamentary proceedings.—Changes in the subordinate offices of government.

DEAR HORACE,

London, May 19, 1707.

1707.

Stanhope
Papers.

I Received both your letters from Valentia, and must ask your pardon if I have missed any opportunities of writing to you, because I have been these two months in Norfolk, from whence I have but just returned. My stay there was chiefly owing to a match that is now concluded betwixt my

General Stanhope.

sister

Period I. 1700 to 1714. fister Susan and Mr. Hamond's son; the terms were too considerable I thought to be refused. He settles 250*l.* per annum, in land, after his decease, 400*l.* per annum for present maintenance for the young people, who are to have my fister's fortune for their own use, and he gives them 500*l.* more to begin the world with, and promises 5000*l.* more in money.

I think all is well, the writings are drawing, and I believe they will be married in a fortnight, and I hope in God we shall be able to dispose of poor Dolly* very well too.

There has been a great deal to doe here in my absence occasioned by a sudden and unusual prorogation of the parliament upon account of a bill the commons sent up to the lords in relation to frauds carrying on in Scotland by importing prohibited goods, which after the union were to be re-landed in England; the lords would not passe the bill, nor would they reject it, but hoped by a prorogation to give the commons an opportunity to recant, and bring in another bill that might not infringe upon the union, as they apprehended this did, but the commons were stubborn and sent them the same bill again; that the queen was forced at last to interpose and determine the dispute by putting an end to the parliament. The severall particulars of this matter are too long for a letter, and I must refer you to his excellency the bearer, to refine upon this subject. The chief and few alterations that have been are, Topham has the record-office in the Tower; Mr. Compton is treasurer to the prince; lord Windsor and his brother are both turned out, and that regiment is given to colonel Masham, who, it is said, is to take Mr. Hill along with it; lord Stamford, lord Herbert,† Mr. Poultney, and Mr. Moncton, are commissioners of trade, which is all that I can think of at present. Mr. Coke, of Norfolk, is dead; the widow is all in peices with the duke of Leeds and lady Ann, that the noble colonel‡ does not know which side to take. Dear Horace, I wish you all health and happiness, and be assured you have a very mindfull and faithfull servant here.

* Dorothy, second fister of sir Robert Walpole, who afterwards married lord Townshend.

† Of Cherbury.

‡ Horatio Walpole, uncle of sir Robert Walpole, who married lady Ann Osborne, daughter to the duke of Leeds.

 1708.

 Period I.
 1700 to 1714.

This correspondence between Walpole, while he was secretary at war, and the duke of Marlborough, is preserved among the Walpole papers at Wolterton. The letters from the duke of Marlborough are all originals, and written with his own hand. Those from Walpole are draughts, most of them are in his own hand writing; and all are endorsed by himself, "Copy of my letters to the duke of Marlborough."

ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Justifies himself against a report, that he had declared a regiment had been given to colonel Jones, through the recommendation of Harley.

MY LORD,

June 22, 1708.

I Hope your grace will excuse the liberty I am now taking to trouble you with a long story, wherein, as I cannot but think your grace is in some measure concerned, soe I take myself to be more than ordinarily obliged to give you a true relation of what, without doubt, you will hear from other hands.

1708.

Walpole
Papers.

The giving colonel Lillington's regiment to colonel Jones has occasioned much discourse in town; and people in accounting for his interest to obtain it, have chiefly in the coffee-houses attributed it to Mr. Harley. I understand your grace wrote a letter to your brother Mr. George Churchill, wherein you intimated something of this nature. Your grace best knows what you wrote, and what use you designed should be made of it; but Mr. Churchill, as he confessed himself to me, showed your letter both to the queen and the prince; told them that I had wrote your grace word, that Mr. Harley had recommended colonel Jones to the prince; and told the queen that I recommended him, which I suppose he wrote your grace word of too. He farther added to the queen and prince that I had given this report all over the town, and that Jones obtained this regiment by Mr. Harley's interest. Her majesty and the prince repented this very highly, insoemuch that the queen spoke to my lord treasurer about it, who was soe kind as to lett me know it, that I might have an opportunity of clearing myself. How it came to be said, that I had given your grace any such account I know not; for the fact I must refer to my letter to you of the first instant. But here your grace will give me leave to observe, that as I think it my duty to give your

Period I. 1700 to 1714. grace an account of all transactions in the army affairs that pass here, for I hope, I am not to be called upon to answer to the queen and prince for every thing that I write to your grace. If I then had had any grounds to suspect this recommendation, I had certainly mentioned it to you, as I do every thing which I think can give you the least light into what is doing: In what circumstances I then had been when I was forced to produce a copy of my letter to the queen, I leave it to you to determine, who, I am confident will never encourage a practice that will bring any body into trouble for a faithful discharge of their duty to you.

As for my recommending Jones to this post, I shall only say, I never heard of the man's name, and knew not that there was such an officer in the army; and the prince has done me the justice to tell the queen, I am clear of this: though I suppose the chief use of this part of the story, was to make your grace think I had done a thing of this consequence without your grace's knowledge or direction; not but that I believe Mr. Churchill thought it would sound well with the queen, and much for my advantage, that I had recommended a colonel to the prince, and afterwards fathered it upon Mr. Harley.

To prove that I had reported about town, that this commission was obtained by Mr. Harley's interest, Mr. Churchill himself told me the story thus: that upon receiving your graces's letter, he sent Mr. William Churchill to Mr. Hopkins to desire this commission might be stopped, where in discourse betwixt them two, Hopkins should say, that Mr. Harley's interest had procured this commission, and quoted me for his authority, which your brother saith, W. Churchill telling him, he could not forbear acquainting the queen and prince with it, and the queen immediately declared, she would take notice of this: upon which Mr. Churchill desired her majesty to stay a little, till he should be more exactly informed; and thereupon, he saith, he sent Mr. W. Churchill a second time to Mr. Hopkins to be more particular with him. When upon W. Churchill's telling Hopkins that the prince had heard this report and was angry; Hopkins replied, Walpole must answer it, for he told it me. This is the substance of what your brother did acknowledge he had told the queen. When I had heard all this I looked out Mr. Hopkins, who went immediately with me to your brother's house (W. Churchill being then out of town) and there declared to his face, that I was never named in the conversation betwixt him and W. Churchill; and had the good fortune to have Mr. Craggs by at the second meeting mentioned, who declared the same thing.

thing, and both of them gave me leave to use their names to the queen upon this occasion. I went directly to Kensington, and made my complaint of this unusual treatment both to the queen and to the prince. I produced a copy of my letter to your grace, and told them the whole as I have now related it; and they were both pleased to say they were fully satisfied. Since W. Churchill is come to town, who solemnly protests, that he never named me to G. Churchill, nor Hopkins to him, and has given me leave to declare this to the queen and prince, which I shall do the first opportunity. Now I have given your grace a plain account of this very extraordinary transaction, I shall avoid making any reflection upon it: for I am with the greatest respect imaginable, &c.

Period I.
1700 to 1714.

1710.

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Forces the lines of Douay.—Considers it as a fortunate circumstance that the French did not bravely defend them.—Desires to have the commissions forwarded soon.

SIR,

April the 24th, 1710.

YOU will see by the letters from the army, as well as those from Holand, the success it has pleased God to bless us with. I may assure you it is gone much faster than we did propose to ourselves; for if they had, which we did with reason expect, defended their lines even with the troops they had, it must have cost us many thousand lives. The next day we obliged the marshal Villars to abandon the river Scarpe, which other ways would have obliged us to have taken our march by Arras, which by want of provision and forage must have proved very troublesome; but God be praised we have invested Douay, and as soon as the canon arrives shall attack it with vigor.—As this is I think likely to be a very active campagne, I think it for her majesty's service that the officers may be encouraged; I have mark'd the dates in my letter to the queen, from whence I beg she will be pleas'd to allow the promotions; you will receive her majesty's commands, and as soon as possible send over the commissions for the officers of this army, the rest may be dispatched afterwarde, so that you shou'd send me the names of all that will be promoted.

1710.
Walpole
Papers.

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period I,
1700 to 1714.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE
DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Encloses a copy of his letter to the queen.

SIR,

April the 24th, 1710.

THE enclos'd letter is what you will read to the queen.

The copie of the queen's letter.

MADAME,

1710.
Walpole
Papers.

AS God has been pleas'd to bless your majesty's armes with the success of passing the line, and investing of Douay so early in the yeare, we must expect in this campagne a great deal of action, so that I think it absolutely necessary for your service that all the officers shou'd be incorag'd as much as possible, and that those officers who have not the advantage of actually serving in the field may have no reason to complain, but on the contrary, to be sensible of your favour, I wou'd umbly desire you wou'd allow of my directing Mr. Walpole to lay before you, for your orders the names of all such major-generals as have their commissions dat'd in the yeare 1708-9, and such brigadiers as are dat'd in the year 1706-7, and all the colonels dat'd 1705, may have their regular promotions, by which you will do justice to the merit of many officers, who will chearfully ventur their lives for your service.

You must let no body know that I send you this copie, so that you must desire the queen that she will be pleas'd to give you the dates in her letter.

I have this moment received yours of the 4th, and I am entirely of your opinion, that Hobart and Ferrars must be added to the number of brigadiers, as well as colonel Sutton. This must be done, but not take notice of at this time to the queen.

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Without date or signature, but endorssed " Duke of Marlborough; received. April 28, O. S. 1710."

Expresses himself highly dissatisfied with the queen's conduct, and if he only consulted his own inclination, desirous of resigning.

For yourself only.

Walpole
Papers.

I Am extreemly obliged to you for the account you give of the queen's present temper, which I believe to be such, that if I considered onely myself

self, I wou'd not serve one minut longer. I send you by this post a cypher* Period I.
1700 to 1714. for some few names, that you may yearafter write with freedom. My letter by this post is write so as you may read it to the queen. I having follow'd your advice as to Mr. Malhame, it would be unjust not to put lord North in this promotion, so that you must lett me have a comission for him.

• COPY OF A LETTER FROM

ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

He has laid the list of the promotions before the queen, who strongly interests herself in favour of colonel Hill and colonel Masham.—Advise the duke not to oppose her inclination.—Congratulates him on his successes.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, April 18—29, 1710.

I Have the honour of your Grace's commands of the 24th instant, and was yesterday with the queen to receive her commands about the promotion. Shee ordered me to lay before her the lists of such as were designed for this promotion, which I just now carry'd to her majesty. By what your grace wrote to me formerly I took it for granted that you designed the promotion of lieutenants generall should go no further than sir Richard Temple and lord Stair, which I acquainted the queen with.

1710.
Walpole
Papers.

As for the brigadeers, your letter is generall to all whose commissions are dated in 1706—7, and there being no dispute about those of the latter end of that promotion, and some of them as Sybourn and Rellum serving with your grace, I presume you meant all those should be made majors generall, altho' you once said you designed the promotion should go no further than Evans.

As to the collonells, your letter to the queen saith all collonells dated in 1705. I do apprehend that will carry that promotion much further than you designed, if all are to be made brigadeers whose commissions are dated in any part of the year 1705; and your grace haveing in a former letter to me said you design'd it should go no further than the 25th March, 1705. I told the queen I thought that was your sence now, altho' exprefs'd in generall; Shee mentioned collonell Hill to me, whose commission is dated in 1705; I told her there was no hardship to him when the promotion stop'd short of him, and to

* As this cypher is missing, I have endeavoured to supply it as far as I was able to discover the key. In most instances I have succeeded; in a few where I have failed, the explanation is omitted. It appears that in a few instances two cyphers are made use of to signify the same person; as 239 and 42, for the queen; 210 and 39, for Marlborough; and 38, and probably 209, for Godolphin.

Period-I. ^{1700 to 1714.} take in the whole year would make it a very great promotion, and more than what I thought your grace design'd; she did not insist upon this but ordered me to write to your grace to know how far you did design this promotion. But upon the lists of colonels she was very ready about the affair of colonel Masham, and asked me how many more would be affected with the order about brevets besides him; I told her Sutton, Hebert, and Ferrars. She was of opinion at first they should all be made brigadeers, but I prevailed with her to let me write to your grace first, and have your opinion about it, which she consented to, but I believe is determined already, and as I apprehended said she would write to you about it. Your grace has already hinted to me your thoughts about the other three gentlemen, and when he will be the single instance, and what I am afraid would be overruled, I am humbly of opinion 'tis not worth disputing, especially now it is put in this method to come from your grace; so that I shall stop all the commissions that are not to be sent to your grace till I hear from you again, and the commissions of those gentlemen who have the honour to serve under your grace shall forthwith be dispatched and sent over to you. Inclosed is the list of those whose commissions will be now dispatched. I hope I have not mistaken your grace's sense in this affair, wherein I am sure I have made no willfull mistake.

It was an infinite satisfaction to me to hear of your grace on the right side of the Scarp. Pray God for ever bless and preserve you, and make your enemies at home fall before you, as fast as they fly from you abroad. I am with the greatest duty, truth, and fidelity, &c.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Acquaints him with the queen's earnest desires that Mrs. Masham's brother should be made a brigadier, and with the satisfaction expressed by the queen at Marlborough's compliance in favor of Mr. Masham.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, April 28,—May 9, 1710.

1710.
Walpole
Papers.

WHEN I first waited on the queen about the promotion she ordered me to leave with her a list of the colonels, and the dates of their commissions. Since I had the honour to trouble you last 239 [the queen] sent for me, and after a great deal of preamble and beating about the bush said, that she had been considering the letter she had from your grace, and the letter you wrote to 209, [Godolphin] wherein you expressed yourself desirous to encourage all the officers that were in service with you, and your letter being for the whole year 1705; she was of opinion it was proper to make all the colonels

colonels of that year brigadeers. I told her I was satisfyd you had no such designs, as that would extend to so many in your army, that I thought it might cause great confusion and difficultys about command in a confederate army, and used all the arguments I was able to diswade from this step without consulting your grace; and upon the whole made such objections, that shee came to name 256's [Mrs. Masham's] brother again; and after. I had diswaded her from giving such directions without your advice, shee commanded me to write you word that shee did desire 256's-[Mrs. Masham's] brother might be made a brigadier now, but did not insist upon it, if you had any objections. Shee observed that the promotion came within one of him, and within six weeks of the date of his commission; and tho' she twice said she did not insist upon it, she oftner said she desired it might be done by adding colonel Gore and him to the promotions, and to let it stop there. I dare not advise in this case, whether your grace should comply, or by giving plausible reasons that relate to your own service abroad put it off till the end of the campaign. If one could be assured that it would end here, and this honour extend only to the service of one family, perhaps it were advicable to be once more easy; but if it is to go on, a stop at some time must be putt to it; 239 [the queen] exprefs'd all the deference in the world to the opinion of 210 [Marlborough] and told me, that great application had been made her for lord Mordaunt's regiment, but she would not meddle.

I have just now read your letter of the 5th of May, to 239 [the queen] and never saw more satisfaction than was exprefs'd at your compliance upon the last account; your grace is best judge what inference is to be made from that, and whether if there are not to be many instances, it may not help to make things easy. But in this, as in all other matters, your grace's opinion and commands shall be my sole guide, for 'tis your service that I have most at heart.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Mr. Masham returns thanks for his promotion.—Complaints of the duke of Ormond shewn to be unfounded.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, May 2—11, 1710.

SINCE I had the honour to trouble your grace last, colonel 256 [Masham] was with me to thank me for his promotion, and expressed himself very sensible of his obligation to 210 [Marlborough], and said as much on that occasion as he had words to express, and if I am not mistaken 239 [the queen] is not a little pleas'd that there was no difficulty made on that occasion. * * * *

When

Period I.
1700 to 1714.

1710.

Walpole's
Papers.

Period I. ^{1700 to 1714.} When I last waited upon 239 [the queen], she told me that 33 [the duke of Ormond] had complained that due regard was not shewn to him here in England, as general of the horse, and particularly that your humble servant 273 [Walpole] did send the queen's orders to the captain of grenadiers to conduct money to Portsmouth, &c., without taking notice of him, and did desire that no orders might be given to any of the horse here in England but by himself, and that all the routs and marching orders and appointments of quarters might be under his direction. I told 239 [the queen] that these affairs were in the same method that they had been for nineteen years; which appears by the office books, and that I did apprehend this would be to give 33 [duke of Ormond] a power or command here which would be entirely new, upon which 239 [the queen] agreed it should remain upon the old foot. But I am fully satisfy'd this was an instance of trying their strength and putting one of their own people upon a better foot in the army.—I understand that brigadier Poultny writes to your grace this night about his being made a major-general, which I conceive he is not to be, having sold out of the army; I must observe to your grace that he gives himself great airs, and talks of doing his business by 28 [the duke of Shrewsbury] if he is refused. I thought it proper you should know this, but I would not do him a prejudice.—Lord Wharton is gone for Ireland; he has got his commission for the regiment of dragoons in Ireland, 209 [Godolphin] was privy and consenting to this. I am ever, my lord, &c.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

The queen insisted on Mrs. Masham's brother, colonel Hill, being made a brigadier, and ordered that the commission should be made out and sent over to the army, but was prevailed upon by his representations to suspend her orders until an answer came from the duke.—Hints that he has offended the duchess of Marlborough for the advice he gave in regard to Mrs. Masham's brother, and is apprehensive of being exposed to her resentment.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, May the 12,—21, 1710.

1710. ^{Walpole Papers.} YESTERDAY 239 [the queen] sent for me, and after some little matters of no consequence told me upon consideration, she was of opinion, that the promotion of generall officers stopping where it did within one of 256's [Mrs. Masham's] brother, it would be thought by all the world, that this was done in particular prejudice to him; order'd me therefore to notify her pleasure to her secretary of state for three more commissions of brigadiers, viz.

viz. Gore, Hill, Honynwood, and said she wou'd then sign all the other general officers' commissions, that they might be sent together by this night's post. I beg'd leave to remind her of the commands she had already given me to write to your grace, that she did desire coll. Hill might be made a brigadier, but did not insist upon it, if you had any objections to it, and represented what surprise it must be to you after that to have commissions of brigadiers in your own army, sent over without waiting your answer. I represented in the strongest terms I was able, the mortification such a step must be to your grace, the unreasonableness of doing any thing disagreeable to you in the army, and the ill consequence that must attend the lessening of your credit or authority in the army, and said a great deal more than can come within the compass of a letter, or is proper for me to repeat, and did at last, but with the greatest difficulty, prevail with her not to order those three commissions until she heard your grace's opinion in answer to my letter. She told me at the same time she would sign none of the other commissions till then, and did confess to me, that she had stop't them with this view, but afterwards upon a more mature recollection, and after I had said a great deal to her upon the subject, she commanded me strictly not to tell any body, and in particular not to lett you know that she stop't the commissions upon this account, but would have it thought as it hitherto has been, that the delay was accidentall. I have told you now in short the substance of a conversation which lasted above half an hour, and beg leave to observe to your grace, that to me 'twas very plain that Honynwood was now named as a blind, that it might not seem to be a particular regard to 256, [Mrs. Masham] but Honynwood I am sure will not be insisted upon, if the other is complied with. I am likewise too much afraid, lett your answer be what it will, that I shall have positive orders to do it, or that noe other commissions will be signed till this is done; I believe too a great deal of this proceeds from the impertinence of 13 [the duke of Somerset] who thinks himself Honynwood's patron, and the reasons and arguments that 239 [the queen] was instructed with, were such, that nobody but one who was both 92 and 93 could suggest. There was a great stress putt upon the appearance, that it must be thought that the stop was made here with a particular prejudice.

And now, my lord, that I have represented this matter as clearly to you as I am able, I dare not venture to give you my opinion, and pardon me, if I think with great reason I say, I dare not, when I find I am already suspected by 240 [the duchess of Marlborough] for what I wrote to you about the

Period I. affair of coll. 256 [Masnam] and I shall be in a very unhappy circumstance, if I venture to say that to 239 [the queen] which perhaps few servants you have would have done, and at the same time shall be thought to act a trimming game. I gave you my opinion as an honest and faithful servant of your's, and did consult three or four people here, that are, I am confident, your surest friends, who from the very highest did all agree in the opinion I then gave, which proceeded entirely from a due regard to your honour and service, and nothing else has the least influence upon my thoughts and actions, and as my obligations to 240 [the duchess of Marlborough] are so infinite, that I would dye rather than deservedly loose her good opinion, so I beg, if my judgement may sometimes lead me to think, what is not altogether agreeable to her, you will not expose me to her resentment, if you do not distrust my sincerity, which believe me you never shall have reason to do, for I am with all possible truth, &c.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Endorsed lord Marlborough, received May 26, O. S.

Expresses his concern at the uneasiness shewn by the duchess of Marlborough.—

Mentions her true esteem for Mr. Walpole.—Is dissatisfied with the queen's behaviour, and imputes it to the suggestions of Harley and the duke of Somerset.—Wishes to retire—but will be guided by the whigs.

SIR,

June 2, 1710, N. S.

Walpole
Papers.

I Was so tier'd and sleepy, that I cou'd not return you my thanks by the last post for your two letters of the 5th and 9th, I have since receiv'd the favour of yours of the 12th, and am extremely concern'd at the uneasiness you mention of 240 [duchess of Marlborough] I know they have a trew vallu and estime for 273 [Walpole] I desire you will continue writting with freedom, and be assur'd that from hence forward, no body living shall be acquainted with what you write. The account you give me of the conversation you have had with 42 [the queen] concerning the commissions for the general officers gives me so mallincolly a vew that will not only make me incapable of success, but will at last make it impossible for me with honour to serve. I wou'd not be mistaken, and if I am you will be best able to set me right, I do not think that 42 [the queen] does this in order to make me quit, but I believe 13 [the duke of Somerset] and 199 [Harley] can have no other intention in making 42 [the queen] give me such sensible mortifications, but in order to make me quit, and to make their

their court by itt to 256 [Mrs. Masham] when ever 39 [Marlborough] is independant of 91, 256 [Mrs. Masham] will not find their account by such a step; if I were to advise 39 [Marlborough] it thou'd be to follow his own inclinations of retiring, as soon as wee have peace, but as he has resolv'd never to depart from the trew intirest of 89 [the whigs] so he will take no resolution for his own conduct, but in conjunction with them: I do beg and conjure you to take nothing unkindly of 240 [the duchess of Marlborough] for they are sincerely honest to what you wish; you will see by the accounts by this post that the marishall de Villars intentions were to have attack'd us last Friday, but seeing the advantagious situation of our army, I beleive he has laid aside all thoughts of fighting, til after this siege, I am and ever shall be most faithfully.

Period I.
1700 to 1714.
1710.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Gives his reasons for desiring to limit the number of promotions.—Boasts of the unanimity of the allied army as the effect of his management.—Expresses his readiness to receive marshal Villars, should he attack them.

SIR,

Camp before Douay, May 29th, 1710.

SINCE my last I have receiv'd the favour of yours of the 28th, and I desire you will with my humble duty acquaint her majesty from mee, that the trew reason for my restraining the promotions of brigadiers to the 25th of March, was not only from the numbers and confusion it must have occasion'd amongst the queen's subjects, but also have given great dissatisfaction to all the forainers, this army being compos'd of eight different nations, and next to the blessing of God, we owe all our success to our unanimity, which has been hethereto, as if in reallity we were but one nation, so that I beg her majesty will be pleas'd to allowe of its stoping at the 25th of March; and as soon as a promotion can be made with any coullor of reason, I shall be sure to take care of those mention'd by the queen. Wee are in expectation of seeing how far the marishal de Villars will put his threats into execution, we have marked camps on etch side of the town, so that we shall be ready to receive him either on the plains of Lenz, or those of Bouchain; we hope these easterly winds may keep the grase and corn so backward, that he will not be able to find forage for his army til towards the end of this month, til which time we have provid'd dry forage for ours, so that we shall have

Walpole
Papers.

Period I.
1700 to 1714.
1710.

given six weeks dry forage to the whole army, which has been hitherto thought impossible, I have told general Merideth that he shall have lord Mordant's regiment, and I am endeavouring to settle the mind of the several officers which pretend to his, so as that it may be dispos'd of as may give most satisfaction, as soon as I can settle it, I shall give her majesty an account of the whole, and at the same time desire the commission for sir Richard Temple for the dragoons. I desire you will assure the queen, that in this, and all my actions, her interest shall be my chiefest view. I am with truth.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Prevails on the queen to wait for an answer from the duke of Marlborough, before she confers rank on Mr. Hill.—Informs him that she is in a better humour.—Advises the duke to consent to the queen's wishes, but in such a manner as not to disgust the foreign officers.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, May the 23d.—June 3, 1710.

Walpole
Papers.

I Have the honour of your grace's commands of the 19th instant, which, having been out of town all last week, I had no opportunity to read to 239 [the queen] till this morning, and cannot but say this matter ended a little better than I expected. 273 [Walpole] took all the pains he was able to bring it to the most easy issue, and after a great deal of conversation and arguing too long for the compass of a letter. 42 [the queen] has consented to wait for your answer to my letter of the 12th inst.; I believe indeed chiefly in hopes that your grace will upon that representation comply with what is desired. I think it is but just to acquaint you, that 42 [the queen] was upon this occasion in a great deal better temper than when this matter was discours'd of before, and tho' she seem'd then determin'd to do it without any regard to 39 [Marlborough] the stile to-day was very much alter'd, and at the same time it was easy to discover the greatest desire for the thing, and yett no little unwillingness to do it without the approbation of 210 [Marlborough] so much that I am confident that if 210 [Marlborough] did come into any expedient to accommodate this matter, it would give great satisfaction to 42 [the queen]. Now, my lord, the chief difficulty you were pleas'd to mention being in regard to the foreigners, suppose you complied so far, as to consent to this commission, but not to be produced or made use of

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of till the end of the campaign, in the mean time to be sent to your grace to be delivered when you thought proper, this I am sure would satisfie and please more than a little. Period I.
1700 to 1714.
1710.

I have acquainted 209 [Godolphin] with all that hath passed, who tells me, he is entirely of opinion, that the matter should be made easy, and has, as I apprehended, wrote you word soe, and it being now more than probable from a great many circumstances that if 239. [the queen] was made easy about 256 [Mrs. Masham] a great many difficulties would be remov'd, your grace is best judge whether any advantage may be made of this instance. 13 [the duke of Somerset] is more impertinent than ever, and I have endlesse trouble in preventing his follies in little things in the army.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Endorsed lord Marlborough, received June 4, O. S. 1710.

Expresses his inclination to satisfy the queen about colonel Hill's commission.—

The French threaten a battle.—Wishes success to the queen's arms.

SIR,

June the 12th, 1710.

SINCE my last wee have received three postes from England, amongst which I have had the favour of yours of the 23d. The inclination the queen shoves for the having Mr. Hill a brigadier, makes me desire that you will assure her majesty that I shall not onely in this, but in every thing that may be in my power, endeavour to make her easy, so that as soon as this campagne is end'd, I shall at my first arrivall order it so that his commission may be sign'd without prejudice to her service, or mortefication to her faithfull servant; the marishall de Villars continues dayly to assure his generals that if there be no peace, the king has resolv'd to decide the fate of Europe by a battle in these plains; a battel at a distance is easily resolv'd and order'd, but when two such armies as consist at least of above one hundred and thorty thousand men etch shall be in presence, the most determined courage will be uneasy till the event of so great an action be known; the great God which has hetherto blessed her majesty's armes, will I hope give his protection to our just cause.

Walpole
Papers.

I desire you will speake to the queen that orders may be given for sir Richard Temple's commission for the ridgment of dragoons. I am, &c.

Period I.
1700 to 1714.

1710.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Without date, but endorsed "received June 5, 1710, O. S."

*Uneasy at the situation of affairs;—will not act but with the advice of his friends.
For yourself.*

Walpole
Papers.

I Am so very uneasy at the humour and temper that is now in the court, that I dare not trust my own judgement, fearing I might hurt my friends, so that I desire you will show my letter* which comes at the same time with this to 6 [Sunderland] and that he will advise with our friends, for however uneasy it may be to mee, I am desirous you shou'd give in answer to 42 [the queen] what they shall resolve upon concerning 256 [Mrs. Masham's] brother; if they approve of my letter, you must then read it to 42 [the queen].

ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

The queen desires that the commission may be made out for colonel Hill, and sent to the duke of Marlborough to be delivered at the end of the campaign—will write herself to the duke on that subject.—Walpole advises with Godolphin and Sunderland.—Is kindly received by the duchess of Marlborough.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, May 26,—June 6, 1710.

Walpole
Papers.

I Was this day honoured with your grace's commands of the 2d of June in which 39 [Marlborough] having given noe opinion as to the affair of 256's [Mrs. Masham's] brother; 273 [Walpole] was at a losse what measures to take, in which he thought noe body soe proper to be consulted as 38 [Godolphin] who was of opinion that 42 [the queen] should be told that 39 [Marlborough] seem'd by his letter under great mortifications that any body should have power enough with 42 [the queen] to impose any thing in the army disagreeable to him; but however 273 [Walpole] was of opinion that 210 [Marlborough] did expect this would be done. 239 [the queen] upon this immediately ask'd for the letter which was not proper to be produc'd, but 273 [Walpole] explain'd what he thought was the sense of 39 [Marlborough] 42 [the queen] was not a little at a losse what to doe and seem'd both unwilling to comply, or deny; at last desired it might be done, but in the softest manner that was possible. The commission is therefore to be taken out by 273 [Walpole] and sent over to 210 [Marlborough] to be deliver'd at the end of the campaign

* This letter is missing.

or when he shall think fit. 42 [the queen] promised to write this night to 39 [Marlborough] to assure him that noe mortification was meant to him; and I must say that in this, and the last conference, there seem'd a great struggle betwixt the desire of doing the thing, and not putting a mortification upon 39 [Marlborough].

Period I.
1700 to 1714.
- 1710.

I hope I have not err'd in this matter, wherein I have work'd 42 [the queen] to a better manner of doing it, than was at first determin'd, and not having any positive directions from 39 [Marlborough] I consulted 38 [Godolphin] 6 [Sunderland] 274 and 185 [Craggs] who all thought the dispute was best to be ended in this manner.

The commissions will now be all sign'd and I believe sent over to your grace together next post. 273 [Walpole] has had the honour to wait upon 240 [the duchess of Marlborough] and hopes he has given full satisfaction. I have noe comands from your grace about Pulteney and Bissett, I find they both think 'tis left entirely to me; I beg your grace's directions what you would have done, for which I shall wait.

I wish your grace all possible successe and glory, altho' your enemies may chance to reap the fruits of the great services which you doe your country, and which noe body else could doe.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Proposes if colonel Hill's commission should not come to declare him a brigadier, to shew his forwardness in obliging the queen.—French have repass'd the Scarp, and seem to decline a battle—wishes for peace.

SIR,

June the 19, 1710.

WE received the day before yesterday the two mailles of the 26th and 30th of the last month, by which you acquaint me with her majesty's pleasure as to coll. Hills comission, I shall expect it by the next post, but if itt shou'd not then come, I intend to send for coll. Hill, and declare him brigadier, so that I may the better shew my forwardness, in executing what it so earnestly desir'd by the queen; you will see by the letters of this post, that the French have repass'd the Scarp, by which I have been oblig'd to repass the Scarp also with the army I command, that of prince Eugene continues behind the entrenchement, the duke of Berwick is return'd to Paris, so that I beleive their designe of a battel is very much cool'd, thay having also sent 13 battalions into Bethun, and the ridgment of Allasse into Ypres; I have

Walpole
Paper.

Period I. 1700 to 1714. have so many reasons to wish for peace, that you may be sure if a good occasion offer'd, I should be glad to put a speedy end to this war by a battel, but I think France must be madd if they venture it upon equal terms, I am with truth, &c.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Sends a commission for Mr. Hill.—Rumours prevail that Sunderland is to be dismissed.—Harley possesses the principal influence over the queen.—Duke of Shrewsbury connected with Mrs. Masham and Harley.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, June 2d, 1710.

Walpole
Papers.

I Send you now under a cover by itself the commission that has caused so much trouble, 'tis by order of 42 [the queen] that 'tis sent to 39 [Marlborough] to be delivered when he shall think fitt, 239 [the queen] ordered 273 [Walpole] to write this post to 256's [Mrs. Masham's] brother, and to lett him know that his commission was sent over and in the custody of 210 [Marlborough] to be delivered when it should be thought proper, to which effect I now write. All the general officers commissions are now sign'd, and will be sent over to Mr. Cardonnel as the agents take them out, your grace knows that all the lt. generals are of one date, viz. January 1st, that if you design otherwise you will give the orders to Mr. Cardonnel before they are deliver'd out. The town has been this week in a new ferment about alterations, and particularly 6 [Sunderland] was on Wednesday positively said to be out, your grace must have better accounts of these things than I can give you, but 'it is plain to me from my observation that 199 [Harley] by 256 [Mrs. Masham] has the cheif and almost sole influence upon 42 [the queen] 28 [Shrewsbury] is in with them, and when I see it, I shall believe that he differs with 199 [Harley] as much as he pretends, which I think is not much neither. In my poor opinion, there never was any thing of half the consequence as removing 6 [Sunderland] talk'd on so long without some industry to obviate a blow that strikes directly at 89 [the whigs] and can scarce be thought on without regard to 39 [Marlborough] to whom 273 [Walpole] has such infinite obligations and such a perfect honour for, that lett what will happen, that 210 [Marlborough] shall solely govern, and may entirely depend upon 273 [Walpole.] 'Tis impossible to imagine the dragoons commission should be delay'd, till 'tis in other peoples power to give it. I send coll. Hill's letter with a flying seal for your grace's perusal. Be pleas'd to have it seal'd and delivered when you have read it.

ROBERT

ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Period I.

1700 to 1714.

Laments the situation of affairs in England.—Hints that Sunderland will be dismissed—and that no attempts are made to save him—and conjectures that his dismissal will be followed by the disgrace of Godolphin and Marlborough.

1710.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, June 6th, 1710.

I Yesterday had the honour of your grace's commands of the 2d instant, which I communicated to those you were pleased to command me, and by their advice, read it to 42 [the queen] who said little to it, but was chiefly solicitous to consider whither this letter was wrote before a letter from 239 [the queen] to 210 [Marlborough] was received, which 'twas most plain it was; but nothing else pass'd worth your notice. I have received orders to notifie for sir R. Temple's commission, which was done without any thing being said at all but a bare consent.

Walpole
Papers.

I think our affairs here at home in a most unaccountable situation, 6 [Sunderland] 'tis agreed by all is to be remov'd, and by none endeavoured to be sav'd. I don't know what this means, but I am sure it must end in the dissolution of this parliament, and in the destruction of 89 [the whigs] and I wish to God 39 [Marlborough] and 38 [Godolphin] can be safe in those circumstances. I cannot tell whither you have been acquainted that 5 [Somers] has wrote to 14 [Townshend] to bring it about if he can, that 62 should write to 65 [count Gallas] upon the reports that are abroad of the changes expected here, and to represent the fatal consequences that may attend such a step, and how far 116 [the emperor] may be induc'd thereby to make an ill peace, this surely must make an impression upon 42 [the queen] or at least leave such a weight upon those whose advice is now taken, that certainly 28 [the duke of Shrewsbury] is much alter'd, if 193 [Harley] can prevail with him who is at present the only visible minister to take such a step. 39 [Marlborough] is better advis'd; but 273 [Walpole] is fully of opinion, that if he can conceive that 38 [Godolphin] is backward upon this occasion, too much cannot be said to quicken him, and pardon an overzeal that thinks the saving 6 [Sunderland] deserves the utmost industry, which alone can preserve 87 [the parliament] upon which 89 [the whigs] entirely depend, and I am afraid 210 [Marlborough] has no surer friend. But lett what will happen, 273 [Walpole] is entirely devoted to his service, and will for ever be soe.

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period I.

1700 to 1714.

1710.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER

FROM THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Endorsed—"Received 28, 1710, O. S.

Expresses his uneasiness at the situation of affairs in England.—Will act in conjunction with his friends.—Is of opinion that the measures adopted will delay the conclusion of a peace.

SIR,

Tournay, June 23, 1710.

Walpole
Papers.

I Am now to thank you for yours of the 2^d, and be assur'd I shall always endeavour to deserve the continuance of your friendship. All the letters which 39 [Marlborough] received by that post, has given him so mallecolly a prospect of what he is to expect from England, that he is very uneasy in his mind; for he wou'd willing not take any resolution but such as might be judg'd right by his friends. If these new skeemers are fond of a peace, they are not very dexterous; for most certainly what is doing in England will be a great incoragement to France for the continuing the warr. I should be glad to have 273 [Walpole's] opinion as to the behavior of 39 [Shrewsbury]. I am and ever shall be with truth your's, &c.

HORACE WALPOLE TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Thanks him in the name of lord Townshend for his account of the situation of affairs.—Is convinced that the divisions at home affect the negotiations for peace, and infuse a spirit of haughtiness into the French.

DEARE BROTHER,

Hague, June the 24th, 1710.Walpole
Papers.

HIS excellency has had your's of the 5th inst.* which came under cover to me, and was brought by coll. Clayton, and yesterday fir Nicholas Worlstenhome delivered the cyphers, and his lordship desires you would accept from me his thanks for the full tho' most melancholy account you have given him of affairs at home; I am so far convinced that our divisions at home affect to the greatest degree our negotiations, that I believe they are the reason why the French ministers will not speake to the purpose about peace, and of late seem very haughty; and I dont doubt will continue so as long as the talk of a new minister and a new parliament is on foot; either of which, for the other must necessarily follow, will create the greatest confusion

* This letter is missing.

among the allies, especially to intimidate this people who daily appear very inquisitive, and apprehensive of new measures in England; which would certainly weaken the confidence they have in her majesty, and cool their opposition to France, and hasten the peace on any terms.

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1710.

By letters that came last night, we hear nothing more of 6 [Sunderland] so that all things we hope continue as they were. What is desired of 62 to 65 [count Gallas] is done, but 14 [Townshend] to 200 [Mr. Boyle] is not thought proper, it might look too much concerted. But should 5 [Somers] and 11 [duke of Devonshire] be of opinion, that it is still necessary 14 [Townshend] neither wants resolution nor inclination to do it in the strongest manner, but for the reason mentioned. 39 [Marlborough] is to the last degree uneasy; 48 [prince Eugene] is mightily affected with it; and 62 very much alarmed.

SIR RICHARD TEMPLE* TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Expresses his concern at the situation of affairs.—Suspects that some of the whigs are acting a double part.—Is grateful for obligations received.

DEAR WALPOLE,

Camp before Douay, June 25, 1710.

Walpole
Papers.

I Can have but little satisfaction from the success of my own affairs when I think upon how precarious a foot all my friends stand, I am so much concerned for you in particular, that I believe my uneasiness for you is more than you feel for yourself. If the rout is to be general amongst the whiggs, it will be better for us and easier borne than if it fall upon a part, where he that has the least honesty will be sure to take care of one. It is a miserable thing that at this juncture when all at home and abroad is at stake, that any one whigg should be suspected of playing a double game; whether there are any such you know better than we do here, but I think there has been so much irresolution discover'd that some people will always be blam'd for want of firmness if they escape so. Wee whiggs here are quite of another make, and those that ought to judge the best, think you have drawn this upon yourselves, by your compliance from time to time; if you care to have me write more at large send me such a character as you make use of to write hither, but let the numbers be different.

So much for ratiocination; I am to thank you dear Walpole, for the friendly part you have taken to me, but my lord duke has been so tender of

Afterwards lord Cobham.

Period I. ^{1700 to 1714.}
 1710. Macartney, and has concern'd himself so much for him, that nothing was left for me to do, but to yield him the pas with as good a grace as I cou'd, and to seem willingly to submit to what I wou'd fain have hinder'd: but it is over and I shall think no more of it, unless to remember the obligations I have to you in that and upon a thousand other occasions, which I know no other way of acknowledging but by the trivial assurance of my being ever, dear Walpole, entirely yours.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Consternation occasioned by the removal of Sunderland.—The remaining members of administration are uniformly of opinion, that Marlborough and themselves should continue in their respective posts, with a view, if possible, to prevent the dissolution of parliament.—The queen declares that no farther changes are intended, but gives no assurances that the parliament will not be dissolved.

MY LORD,

June 16th—27, 1710.

Walpole
Papers.

WE are all present under the greatest consternation at the removal of 6 [Sunderland] which tho' expected when the blow was struck, gave the greatest alarm to all the town, and had immediately affected the whole credit, if a great deal of pains had not been taken to quiett people's minds by making them believe noe further changes would be made, which I think was quite necessary to instill into people's minds, at least at present, till we can see what further will be attempted, which, I frankly own to you is the opinion of 273 [Walpole] will soon be explain'd, notwithstanding all that is said to the contrary.

14 [Townshend] will have an account from other hands, that 1 [Orford] 4 [Halifax] 5 [Somers] 11 [Devonshire] 15 [Cowper] 17 [Newcastle] 38 [Godolphin] 200 [H. Boyle] and all 89 [the whigs] were unanimously of opinion*, that 39 [Marlborough] must goe on at present as well as themselves, to see what can be done, and in the first place, to use all proper means to save this 87 [Parliament] upon which all certainly depends.

42 [the queen] has been soe sensible of the ill consequences that threaten'd upon the apprehensions of further changes, that yesterday 17 [Newcastle] was ordered to carry the heads of the bank to 239 [the queen], when 239 [the

* See their letter to the duke of Marlborough on this occasion, in *The Conduct of the duchess of Marlborough*, p. 257, and in *Tindal*.

queen]

queen] assur'd them, there was not the least thoughts of making any further change in the ministry, and desired them to satisfy all their friends in this particular, which has a little quieted the city. Now to give 14 [Townshend] all the light that is possible, 273 [Walpole] thinks this will stand for nothing, because 42 [the queen] avoided at the same time declaring whither 87 [the parliament] should be dissolv'd or not, and when 5 [Somers] 209 [Godolphin] and 17 [Newcastle] had occasion to touch upon that particular, 42 [the queen] only said, they were not yett determin'd in that point, which is a demonstration that 'tis design'd or under consideration, but they wait in expectation of what may offer on the other side of the water, and it has been said that Michaelmas would be soon enough to dissolve 87 [the parliament] and the preventing that is the only point at present that is to be labour'd.

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1700 to 1714.
1710.

I understand that 65 [count Gallas] has had the same assurances to send to 116 [the emperor] that were given to the bank, and that 200 [Mr. Boyle] has the same orders to write to 14 [Townshend] but not one word of 87 [the parliament] but 38 [Godolphin] this morning bad 273 [Walpole] write to 14 [Townshend] and give him a hint to improve this opportunity when he should write his answer to 200 [Mr. Boyle] which was understood might be in this manner, that 116 [the emperor] had heard (which is supposed to be undoubtedly true) that there were not only designs of altering the ministry in England, but likewise of dissolving this parliament, what effects both these had upon the affairs abroad, and even upon the negotiations of peace; that after the steps that had been taken, it was a great satisfaction to 116 [the emperor] to have such assurances from 42 [the queen] upon the first point, but if the other should happen, it would have the same consequences, not only because it must end in the first, but because if 87 [the parliament] should be dissolved, that have been soe zealous for carrying on this war and obtaining a good peace, the confederates would apprehend another 87 [parliament] would be of another complexion, and might be induced to accept of a seperate peace, or even comply with the terms of France; besides if the next 87 [parliament] should be as good as this, there would be so much time lost, before they could meet and their resolutions known, that it might have the same ill effect.

These are but hints which 14 [Townshend] does not want, and will sett things in soe much a clearer light, that I ought to ask pardon for mentioning them, but it seems soe reasonable, that 14 [Townshend] with 62 may represent this in such a manner to 65 [Gallas] and to 200 [Mr. Boyle] and

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and have a fair handle from what is now a doing, that it must bring 42 [the queen] to determine against it, when your friends here are arm'd with such strong reasons, or at least putt 239 [the queen] under a necessity of discovering what is resolv'd, for I presume if any thing of this nature comes from you, it will be put in such a manner, that some answer must be given for the satisfaction of 116 [the emperor]. When I write thus freely by the common post, I write under some concern, and no body but 38, [Godolphin] knows of my writing this to you, but for the better blind, I direct it to Mr. Poynts, rather than to you or Horace, and if you would send me a direction to some person, not of your own family, under whose cover I might write to you upon these occasions, I think it would still be more safe.

I shall be glad to have an account of the receipt of this, and of the wellfare of all your family, for no body is more truly and sincerely, &c.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Endorsed—"Lord Marlborough, June 30th, 1710, N. S. Received 28th, O. S."

Expects the account of the removal of Sunderland.—Declares his resolution to act according to the advice of his friends in England.

SIR,

June the 30th, 1710.

Walpole
Papers.

I Have this morning receiv'd the favour of yours of the 13th, by other letters also, I am prepar'd to receive very speedily the disagreeable news of the removall of 6. [Sunderland] Our friends on the spot are best able to judge what is most proper to be done, and accordingly, I shall govern myself. You will know by the letters of this post, that the garrison marched out yesterday near five thousand men. I am with truth.

HORACE WALPOLE TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Endorsed—"Brother Horace, July 1, 1710, N. S. Received June 28, 1710, O. S.

The removal of Sunderland occasions as much consternation in Holland as in England.

Hague, July the 1st, 1710. N. S.

Walpole
Papers.

14 [Townshend] was this morning favoured with one of the 16 from 273 [Walpole], and returns him his thanks and compliments for the light he has received from it; the consternation that the removall of 6 [Sunderland] occasioned here, is as great as it can possibly be at London; particularly 62 and the

the m [minister] of 51 [Hanover] who are both generally very cautious and reserved on the account of party matters, are to the last degree affected with the uncertainty of affairs with you; I am told that 273 [Walpole] will be the first sacrifice of the commoners, but since he has lately got the better of a very dangerous disorder in his natural body, I hope he will work as well thro' the convulsions of the politick constitutions. I think the best way for 273 [Walpole] to write, with more safety to 24 [Townshend] is to send his letter sometimes under cover to doctor Chamberlain, physician at his excellency's, sometimes to Mr. Cole, chaplain, or to Mr. Poyntz, and not seal it with his own seal, at least the cover; you will acknowledge the receipt of this, and accept of the greatest transports of joy for your recovery, from yours, &c.

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1710.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Recommends the whigs to endeavour to prevail on the duke of Shrewsbury to use his influence, that the parliament should not be dissolved.

SIR,

July the 5th, 1710.

I Have receiv'd your's of 21 by coll. Panton, and I do agree intierly with you, that the intention of 28 [duke of Shrewsbury] and 199 [Harley] is to dismise 87 [the parliament] but as I think the whole depends upon that, 39 [Marlborough] is of opinion, notwithstanding the part 28 [Shrewsbury] has acted towards 6 [Sunderland], that 89 [the whigs] shou'd if possible take measures with 28 [Shrewsbury] for the preservation of 87 the [parliament] this is also my opinion and you may make use of itt to such of our friends as you shall think proper, I write by this oportunity to 6 [Sunderland] to the same effect, so that if he be still in the town, you will be pleased to consult with him. I am, ever yours.

Walpole Papers.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Desires to hear freely about the duke of Shrewsbury.

SIR,

August 11, 1710.

I Have not write hardly to any body, being in hopes of having an account of Mr. Craggs being with you, but by my last letters of the 21st, I find he was not come nor new of him, so that I shall be in pain til I hear he be safe, fearing some accident at sea. As the fate of 87 [the parliament] must before this be decided, we are very impatient of letters, and 39 [Marlborough] has desired

Walpole Papers.

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period I.
1700 to 1714.
1710. desired of me, that he may hear freely from you, what 273 [Walpole] think may be rely'd upon; he means as to 38 [the duke of Shrewsbury]. I am with the greatest truth ever yours.

HORACE WALPOLE TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

*Necessity of procuring members if a new parliament should be assembled.—
Electress Sophia and the elector alarmed at the proceedings in England.*

August 12th, 1710. N. S.

Walpole
Papers.

I Have now time to return you my thanks for your favour of the 18th past; we have this afternoon received the letters from England of the 25th and 28th, by which I had from 273 [Walpole] inclosed a printed paper of a letter from P—m [Petkum*] to B—s, but noe other letter or any other news, so that I suppose things continue in the same uncertainty they did as to 87 [the parliament] and 89 [the whigs] tho' I heare from other hands, that preparations are making on both sides for a new 87, [parliament] in which case I believe 273 [Walpole] may have what he formerly desired as useful at such a juncture; and should that happen 38 [Godolphin] and 210 [Marlborough] must spare no pains nor expence on such an occasion, and I think great power and a long purse, should be put into the mighty hand of 185, who I dare say will make a prevailing use of it, and 274 must represent to 240 [the duchess of Marlborough] that a penny spent is twopence gott on such an occasion; I am told from good hands, that 84 [tories] have lately made great addresses to 51 [electress sophia] but without effect, for 51 [sophia] 52 [elector] and all that house are very much alarmed at the late proceedings in England, and think it is time to look about them being apprehensive of 54; and are almost ready to declare for 89 [the whigs].

HORACE WALPOLE TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Endorsed—"Brother Horace, August 18, 1710, N. S."

*Speculations on the probability of a dissolution of parliament, and on the effect
of measures in England on the continent.*

DEAR BROTHER,

Hague, August the 18th, 1710, N. S.

Walpole
Papers.

CAPTAIN Kennedy having promised to deliver this to you with his own hand, I venture to acquaint you that what 273 [Walpole] formerly desired, relating to what passed between 116 [the emperor] and 42 [the queen] upon the removal of 6 [Sunderland] was sent by last post under cover to T—y, and the direction to 273 [Walpole] was in French, with his name

* Petkum, minister to the duke of Holstein.

false spelt; to prevent suspicion of the person that sent it; I desire to know by the first opportunity whether it came safe to hand; last night we had letters from England dated the 4th, but I was favoured with none from you by that occasion. It seems the dissolution of this parliament is still uncertain; and I must own I should not be much concerned at the misfortune of losing so good a house, supposing we could be assured that people's eyes are so far opened, and the whig interest so strong in the country as to be able to have a majority of the right side by a new election; for altho' the hazard might for the present make the publick credit fall; yet a new return of good members would soon make it rise, and putt it upon a better foot, than I am afraid you will find it at the last session of a dying parliament. For since there must be another chosen next summer; the expectations that the French have from our civil broyls will make them defer speaking sincerely about peace, untill they see what turn and effect the new elections will have in England, and the same reason will make people both at home and abroad very reserved in lending their money to our government; whereas a good new parliament will cutt off all hopes from France, and will be a great encouragement to the well intentioned to contribute their utmost to support us. But this is sayd upon the supposition of having the greatest probability of a good parliament by a new choice. In the mean time I believe this people can be kept very steady to the honest interest of England, and to the common cause, untill they see what the commons of Great Britain, are like to doe, but att all events, I hope our friends will be very carefull about coming to any bargains; for the other side who have all the power with 239 [the queen] will never make any advances for that end, untill they find they are not able to support the violent measures they had at first concerted, so that a composition on our side I think, can have no other effect than to give the enemy a present advantage, and divide the whigs, for the country whigs will always desire to act a free and independent part, and never care to be governed by the private intrigues of 91 and will immediately cry out they are given up; and should the next sessions by that means pass with differences, and confusion among our friends, it may have a very bad influence upon the ensuing elections.

* * * *

I can with great satisfaction assure you that the house of 51 [Hanover] is very sensible of what is doing in England; of the deceitfull addresses of 84 [the tories] and of the sincere intentions of 89 [the whigs] to promote their interest; I cant forbear telling you in confidence that I think 39 [Marlborough]

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period I. borough] should be very diligent in making his court there, which I am
 1700 to 1714. afraid was formerly a little neglected; and I am perswaded he will find all
 1716. . imaginable regard, and confidence from thence.
 My respects to 11 [duke of Devonshire].

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM

LORD TOWNSHEND TO GENERAL STANHOPE.

Consternation occasioned by the removal of lord treasurer Godolphin.

DEAR SIR,

Hague, August 26, 1710.

Stanhope
Papers.

I Must refer you to M. Walpole for an account of the news this place affords, as well of our confusions in England; from whence we had by the last post the fatal news of lord treasurer's being removed from his office, which has put this country into the greatest consternation. God only knows what destruction our new ministry is preparing for us. I heartily wish you all imaginable success in your future enterprizes, and beg you would do me the justice to believe that I am with the greatest truth and respect, &c.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Alarmed at the removal of Godolphin.

SIR,

August the 28th, 1710.

Walpole
Papers.

I Have received the favour of your's of the 8th, that as well as the rest of my letters brought me the surprizing news of the white staff being taken from lord treasurer. 39 [Marlborough] has for some time been prepar'd for these mortefycations, he at this distance can't see where this will end, but he is sure to the best of his understanding he will act like an honest man, and whilst employ'd doe what he shall judge best for his queen and country, and as he relies on the friendship of 273 [Walpole] he must desire to hear often from him, I am with much truth.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Endorsed—"Lord Marlborough, received 16th, O. S."

Determines to act with the whigs.

SIR,

Sept. 18, 1710.

Walpole
Papers.

YOU will know my thoughts by sir Ri. Temple; since his being gone Mr. Collins has brought me your two letters of the 26th and the 1st of this month.

month. I have beg'd of 38 [Godolphin] to use his interest with 200 [Boyle], and I have write myself to lord Coninsbey; as 199 [Harley] and those people spread all over England lyes, the honest people shou'd be industrious of letting the truth be known. I agree with you that the best thing is to use all endeavours possible for the getting honest men into 87 [parliament] and lett what will happen 39 [Marlborough] will always be ready for taking measures with 89 [the whigs] which sooner or later must bring all things right.

Period I.
1700 to 1714.
1710.

1711.

These letters from secretary St. John, afterwards viscount Bolingbroke, fully contradict the current opinion that Marlborough continued *always* upon good terms with him. The insinuation in the first letter that Marlborough aimed at the crown, originated in party malice. Swift in his scurrilous pamphlet, for it does not deserve the name of a history, of the four last years of queen Anne, accuses him of this intention under the affectation of defending him from the charge.

COPY OF A LETTER* FROM
SECRETARY ST. JOHN TO ——— DRUMMOND.

Insinuates that Marlborough aimed at the crown.

Jan. 23, 1710—11.

AS to the great man† you mention I have wrote a few but plain words to your pensionary. He was not received with the acclamations you heard of; and they are much mistaken that imagine that he can be upon any other bottom than what the queen pleases to put him. I dare say he is convinced by this time that he cannot lead either his mistress or any one else as he used to do. We shall send him over a subject; take care you do not put royalty into his head.

1711.
Aisle Papers.

* These letters from secretary St. John to Drummond are in the possession of Andrew Berkley Drummond, Esq. and were communicated to me by Thomas Aisle, Esq. The secretary appears to have reposed much confidence in Drummond, and to have corresponded with him without the knowledge of the other members of the cabinet. He is probably the same person who is mentioned in Carte's memorandum book, under the name of John Drummond, as the confidant of lord Bolingbroke. See Macpherson's Papers, vol. ii. p. 530, 532. † Marlborough.

Period I.
1700 to 1714.
1711.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM

SECRETARY ST. JOHN TO — DRUMMOND.

*Censures the conduct of Marlborough, and justifies the dismissal of Godolphin.—
Rude behaviour of Vrybergue, the Dutch minister.*

SIR,

Whitehall, Jan. the 23d. 1710—YI.

After Papers. **B**ESIDES your letters of the 20th and 26th, which I acknowledg'd on Tuesday, I have now receiv'd yours of the 30th. The queen has been a little troubled with the gout; and three posts coming in together almost, have so overloaded us with business, that I have not been able to take her majesty's pleasure concerning the Spanish ships, or indeed to lay the matter before my lords of the council. I will not fail by the very first opportunity to do both, and I hope to turn that affair to your satisfaction.

As to the great man, I own to you freely he acts in my opinion a little and an ill judged part. I should be tedious if I descended to particulars, but take this general idea of his conduct and situation. The queen, and those who are in her intire confidence, are desirous to please our friends in Holland, and to continue him at the head of the army. In order to this every thing which as duke of Marlborough, or as general, he can expect, has been, and will be comply'd with. Every thing necessary to put his troops into condition is done and doing; every thing necessary to make him easy in the field is done likewise, by the declaration which the queen has made of his loudest enemy the duke of Argyle, to be general of the Brittish troops in Spain. He has been told by the duke of Shrewsbury, by Mr. Harley, and by your humble servant, that since the queen agrees to his commanding the army, it is our duty, and in the highest degree our interest, to support him, if possible, better than he ever yet was, and that he may depend upon this. He has seen in other instances that we were able to see, and to pursue that which was right; why should he think us capable of judging on this occasion so wrong? He was told at first, that he had nothing to reproach us with; that his wife, my lord Godolphin and himself, had thrown the queen's favour away; and that he ought not to be angry if other people had taken it up. He was told that his true interest consisted in getting rid of his wife*, who was grown to be irre-

* The duchess of Marlborough has studiously avoided to take any notice, in her Apology, of this fact, which shews the imprudence of Marlborough and Godolphin, and proves how entirely they were governed by that imperious woman.

concile-

conciliable with the queen as soon as he could, and with the best grace which he could; instead of this, he teas'd the queen and made the utmost effort to keep this woman in her places; he never brought the key* till he had but three days given him to do it in, and till he found that a longer delay was not to be hoped for from the queen's resolution, however he now pretends to make a merit of this resignation. He has been told he must draw a line between all that is passed, and all that is to come, and that he must begin entirely upon a new foot; that if he looked back to make complaints, he would have more retorted upon him than it was possible to answer; that if he would make his former conduct the rule of his future behaviour, he would render his interests incompatible with those of the queen. What is the effect of all this plain dealing? he submits, he yields, he promises to comply; on the struggles to alleviate Meredyth's disgrace, and to make the queen make a less figure by going back, than she could have done by taking no notice at all of the insolence of him and his comrades, he is angry at the duke of Argyle's being appointed to command in Spain, and would I suppose have him punished for acting on a plan which we all, even the queen herself, have been concerned in.

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1711.

In short, to finish this description, I doubt he thinks it possible for him to have the same absolute power which he was once vested with, and believes, perhaps, that those who serve the queen are weak enough not to see the use he would make of it once more. By all the judgement which I can form, the exterior is a little mended, but at heart, the same sentiments remain, and these heighten'd and inflam'd by what he called provocations. We shall do what we can to support him in the command of the army, without betraying our mistress; and unless he is infatuated, he will help us in this design, for you must know, that the moment he leaves the service, and loses the protection of the court; such scenes will open, as no victorys can varnish over.

This is an honest, and I hope a clear account; lay your foundation here, and whatever happens, judge from hence. I think that the best thing which the duke can do, is to go over as soon as possible, for which the letter of the States to the queen gives a very proper handle. This letter was deliver'd to night to the queen by Vrybergue; and is very discreet. A propos to Vrybergue, talking to him on Sunday at the back stairs, of business in a very sober

* The gold key, the ensign of one of his wife's places.

and

Period I. 1700 to 1714. and calm manner, he took occasion to interrupt himself, and with some emotion to say, that as long as he felt that people had a confidence in him, he would have the same in them, but that when they had none, he knew how to live with them accordingly, or to that effect. The expressions were harsh and the manner was harsher; I only answered with a smile. I consider him as the minister of the States; and in that character, and in that alone, will always shew him respect.

I intreat you to assure the pensionary of my most sincere respects, and to let him know that whenever he has any commands for me, I will upon the least hint, catch at an opportunity of obeying them. In doing this, I shall have the additional satisfaction of making my court to the queen, who has the greatest value imaginable for the pensionary's consummate wisdom, and inflexible integrity. I do not know whether some turn may not still be found to gratify you in a minister at the Hague, since the person talk'd of seems so little to be approved. Keep this to yourself, and leave us to work it. I allow considerably for mistakes in intelligence, and for the affected boasts of the French before the opening of a campagne; and yet I incline to think that they will make all manner of ways a great effort this year. I beg of you to be vigilant in getting what accounts you can of their naval preparations. The notice sent me in your last I have received from other parts of France with some other circumstances. Sir James Wishart will be order'd, if these reports come confirm'd, to press with the stronger instances that the Dutch should do more by sea, than of late years they have been us'd to do. Whilst we spare nothing to push the Flanders war, you must not suffer us to be ruin'd in our trade and insulted on our coasts.

I will give you no further trouble by this post, but conclude this long letter by my hearty assurances of being ever, sir, your faithful humble servant.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

39

COPY OF A LETTER FROM
SECRETARY ST. JOHN TO — DRUMMOND.

Period I.
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1711.

Objects to lay fresh and heavy burdens on the Low Countries.—Denies that lord Peterborough has had orders to offer the Spanish monarchy to the duke of Savoy.—Remarks on that delicate subject.—Censures the conduct of the states in regard to the northern affairs.

SIR,

Whitehall, April the 27th, O. S. 1711.

YOUR letter of the first of M^y together with the inclosed I receiv'd Asle Papers. with that satisfaction which I read every thing that comes from you. I cannot agree that lord Orery is so much in the wrong, or that there is so much danger of losing the subsistence of the imperial and palatine troops, as Mr. Watkins seems to believe. My lord has the queen's positive and repeated orders to insist in the first place, that the Spanish provinces should furnish all the expences charg'd upon them for the service of the war; but he is directed at the same time to act the part of an advocate and protector, when any unreasonable proposition is by other people press'd upon them. Nay in such cases as the common necessity will oblige him to yield, and where he knows beforehand that he is to do so, the queen will however approve his conduct if he shews a reluctance to enter into oppressive measures, and if at the time he consents to load them on one account, he endeavours to ease them in some other respect.

These unhappy countrys have found the government of those, who pretend to be the assertors of publick liberty, so tyrannical and so barbarous, that you know better than I how near they are driven to despair. The queen's servants have, to the reproach of our government and nation, been in great measure the instruments of all these vile proceedings. Something therefore must be done to relieve the miserable people, and something to redeem the honour of the Brittish name. We have in answer to a resolution of the States, and to a memorial of Monsieur Vrybergue's grounded thereon, spoke very frankly to this effect: but to you I will add this farther, that it is by no means our interest that Holland should compass all their aim at with respect to these provinces.

I shall be sorry if my lord Orery does not live in a good correspondence, since it is absolutely necessary for the publick service, with the duke of Marlborough; who did really make great advances, and such as could not be with any grace declined, before they left the kingdom.

I hardly

Period I.
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1711.

I hardly believe that the French are shipping any forces att Brest; but if they should, in the opinion, and with the design you mention, I wish them heartily a good voyage.

Your conversation with the pensionary, I hope by the first letters to have an account of. In the mean time you may assure him, that my lord Peterborow has had no orders to offer the Spanish monarchy to the duke of Savoy, nay his journey to Turin is undertaken against the queen's intentions, and even his instructions; since the latter obliges him to continue at Vienna, till all the points in dispute are settled to the satisfaction of Monsieur de Mellaredé, and you know that he took the resolution of going to the duke of Savoy, as soon as that was adjusted which relates to the fiefs of Monferrate, and which is but half of one article out of four.

Declaring the duke of Savoy's immediate succession to Spain can have but one effect, which is to hasten the Austrian ministers to some composition with France; if king Charles is once secure of the empire, he will think it much more his interest to unite the Italian territories to it, and to enjoy the whole with peace, than to continue a war for aggrandising the house of Savoy at the expence of having lost himself. We are as cautious upon this subject, and we think it as nice and dangerous a matter to handle as the pensionary can do. But give me leave to tell you that our friends in Holland must not leave this affair to take care of itself, as they have done that of the north. The queen has hitherto not at all interpos'd, but left the whole management of this last to the States, and what a dilemma are we now reduced to. The king of Sweden has been made neither unwilling nor unable to hurt us. He has had in great measure the advantage of the act of neutrality, and yet is under no obligation to abide by it, and now that he has gain'd time enough he bids you in plain terms declare whether you will make good the guaranty of the treaty of Travendahl or not, that he may take his measures accordingly. The situation of the northern affairs gives the queen no small degree of uneasiness.

Mr. Harley was yesterday att the house of commons for the first * time, the compliment which the speaker made him in the name of the house, and his reply to it were extremely fine.—We say att court that he will be call'd by another appellation in few days.

* On his recovery after being stabbed by Guiscard, he was on the 24th of May, created earl of Oxford and Mortimer.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO SECRETARY BROMLEY.

Period I.
1700 to 1714.

1714.

First audience with the elector.—Delivers his credentials.—The elector acknowledges great obligations to, and confidence in the queen, and declares that the demand for the writ to call his son to the house of peers was made without his knowledge and consent.—Interview with the other parts of the electoral family.

SIR,

Hanover, August 7th, N. S. 1714.

• Astle
Papers.

ON Saturday last I had my first audience of the elector, at noon, at Herenhausen, he received me in a room where he was alone. A gentleman of the court came to my lodgings here with two of the electors coaches, and carried me to Herenhausen. I was met at my arrival out of the coach by Mr. D'Haremburg, marshall of the court, and at the top of the stairs by the chevalier Reden, second chamberlain, (the count de Plaaten, great chamberlain, being very sick) he conducted me through three rooms, to the room where the elector was, who met me at the door of that room, and being returned three or four steps into that room, he stopped, and the door was shut. I then delivered my credentials to him, and made him a compliment from the queen, to which he answered that he had always had the greatest veneration imaginable for the queen, that he was always ready to acknowledge the great obligations he and his family have to her majesty, and that he desired nothing more earnestly than to entertain a good correspondence with her; he asked me whether I left the queen in good health, that he wished her health very heartily. I told him that when I had the honour to take leave of the queen, I left her in very good health, that I had received letters from England since my arrival here, by which I was informed that the queen continued to enjoy her health, I told him I was very glad to find his highness so well inclined, and that I desired I might have a private audience as soon as possible, that I might have an opportunity of acquainting him fully with what I had received in command from the queen. To this he answered, that he was very sorry that the king of Prussia's coming had hindered him so long from seeing me; that he did not desire to delay one minute longer the receiving her majesty's

* These original letters which relate to the earl of Clarendon's embassy to the court of Hanover are in the possession of Thomas Astle, Esq. He purchased them with several others, at the sale of lord Clarendon's manuscripts by Baker and Leigh, in 1765.

Period I.
1700 to 1714.

1714.

commands, and that I was at liberty to say then, all that I had in command from her. I then delivered to him the queen's answer to his memorial, and the other letter, and I spoke upon all the heads contained in my instructions, and in your letter * of the 22d of June, O. S. when I told him, that as the queen had already done all that could be done to secure the succession to her crowns to his family, so she expected that if he has any reason to suspect designs are carrying on to disappoint it, he should speak plainly upon that subject; he interrupted me, and said these words, "Je n'ay jamais crû que la reine eust aucuns desseins contre les intérêts de ma famille, et je ne sçache pas d'avoir donné aucun sujet de croire, que je voulusse rien entreprendre contre les intérêts de sa majesté, ou qui pût luy déplaire, c'est ce que je ne feray jamais : la reine m'a fait l'honneur de m'escire pour scavoir ce que je souhaitois que l'on fît pour asseurer d'avantage la succession, surquoy nous avons donné un memoire par escrit a monsieur Harley, a laquelle il n'y a point encore eü de reponce."

I told him I had just then had the honour to deliver to him an answer to that memorial, and that if when he had perused that answer, he desired to have any part of that answer explained, I did believe, I should be able to do it to his satisfaction. Then I proceeded to speak upon the other points, and when I came to mention Schutz demanding the writ for the duke of Cambridge, he said these words, "J'espere que la reine n'a pas crû que cela s'est fait par mon ordre, je vous assure que cela a esté fait a mon insceu; la defuncte electrice avoit escrit a Schuts sans que je l'aye sceu pour s'informer pourquoy le prince n'avoit pas eu son writ puis qu'elle croyoit qu'on les envoyoit a tous ceux qui estoient pairs, et luy au lieu de cela, alla demander le writ, mesme sans l'ordre de l'electrice; je ne feray rien qui puisse, en aucune façon, choquer la reine, a qui nous avons tant d'obligations." My speaking to him, and the answers he made me, took up something above an hour, then I had audience of the electoral prince, and duke Ernest, the elector's brother in the same room, then of the electoral princess; after that I had the honour to dine with them all, and after dinner, here in town, I had audience of the electoral prince's son and two daughters. At dinner the elector seemed to be in very good humour, talked to me several times, asked several questions about England, and seemed very willing to be informed. It is very plain to me, he knows very little of our constitution, and seems to be sensible that he has been imposed upon. The

* This letter and the memorial which are also in Mr. Astle's collection, are printed by Macpherson, vol. ii. p. 608, 628,

electoral prince told me he thought himself very happy, that the queen had him in her thoughts, that he should be very glad it were in his power to convince the queen how grateful a sense he had of all her favours: duke Ernest said, the queen did him a great deal of honour to remember him, that he most heartily wish'd the continuance of her majesty's health, he hoped no one of his family would ever be so ungrateful as to forget the very great obligations they all had to her. The electoral princefs said she was very glad to hear the queen was well, she hoped she would enjoy good health many years, that her kindness to this family was so great, that they could never make sufficient acknowledgments for it.

Period I.
1700 to 1714.
1714.

Thus I have acquainted you with all that passed at the first audience. I have been at court every night since, for the time of making one's court here is from six to nine in the evening; to-morrow I intend to desire a private audience in order to discourse more fully upon what I have said to him, and to see how he takes the queen's answer to his memorial. All the ministers here, (except Mr. Buleau, who is not in town) have been with me, and make great professions of respect for the queen, I have returned all their visits, and have dealt so plainly with them as to tell them, that I am very glad to find them in so good a disposition, and rather because they will now have an opportunity to prove their faith by their works.—The Muscovite envoy, and the Polish envoy have sent to me, hearing I had sent to notify my arrival to them; they are just come to town, and I suppose I shall see them to-morrow. I believe by this time I have pretty well tired you, so I shall conclude in intreating the favour of you to give my most humble duty to the queen, whom I pray God long to preserve. I am, &c.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO SECRETARY BROMLEY.

Speaks favourably of the elector, who renews his assurances that his dependence is solely on the queen.—Speaks unfavourably of Robethon, who governs Bernsdorf.

SIR,

Hanover, August 15, N. S. 1714.

I Trouble you with this letter by Mr. Barlow. I gave you in my letter the 7th instant, N. S. an account of the answers the elector made to me at my first audience, I did not then send you an account of what I said to him in pursuance of the queen's instructions to me, and the letter I received from you

Period I.
1700 to 1714.

1714.

you afterwards, I now send it to you in the same words I spoke to him : for the answers you will give me leave to refer you to my letter of the 7th inst.

I hope and I think I have not omitted any thing that I was to speak to, if I have not done it in so good language as able people would have done, I hope I shall be pardoned, that I thought upon this occasion the plainest language was the best, so that if I had been able to do better, I should have been guilty of the same, I have done ; that it might not be pretended they could not understand me. Mr. Bernsdorf is governed by Robethon, who is as bad as bad can be. I have been twice with Mr. Bernsdorf since my second audience ; he has promised me I shall have an answer in writing to what I said to the elector, when I see that I shall be able to say more ; the elector continues still to say, every time I speak to him, that he is ready on his part to do any thing to preserve a good correspondence with the queen, that he has not and will have no dependance upon any body but the queen. I told him I hoped he would give those assurances to her majesty in the best and fullest manner, he seems to be a man of very good temper, the people here generally speak with great value of him, and his brother duke Ernest. It is certain the elector has never yet spoken to Shuts since he came home ; he comes to court in the evening, but as soon as the elector appears he goes away, and indeed nobody here looks upon him, but the electoral prince, and that is in private : Mr. Guerts, who is president des finances, is a very good man and always in opposition to Bernsdorf : the count de Plaaten, who is great chamberlain, is a fine gentleman, but never meddles with business. Mr. D'Elfe and Mr. Busch who are two others of the council are men that meddle no farther than they are called upon by the elector, there are no other counsellors now here. By what I can hear I find that the king of Prussia's journey here was to endeavour to engage this court in the project I took the liberty to mention to you in a letter from the Hague, for dividing the king of Sweden's territory's in Germany, but I don't find he has succeeded here.—The elector talks of going in three weeks time to a place called Vinhaufen, and from thence to Guehre, a place where he goes every year to hunt the stag, and stays all the fall of the year, so that if I am not dispatcht before he goes out of town, I must either follow him to those places which will be very chargeable to me, or I must stay here till winter, which I hope the queen does not intend. Therefore I entreat the favour of you, that Mr. Barlow may be sent back to me as soon as possible with such farther commands he has for me here if any.

I suppose

I suppose in a few days I shall have the elector's answer in writing, which I hope will be to the queen's satisfaction, if so, I suppose I have no more to do here: however I beg the favour of you, that I may know the queen's commands as soon as possible.—This moon I believe will put an end to whatever might be called summer in this country, so it will not be long good travelling in this part of the world.—I entreat the favour of you to give my most humble duty to the queen, whom I pray God long to preserve. I have had no letters or news from England these two last posts. I am with great respect.

Period I.
1700 to 1714.
1714.

Answer of queen Anne to the memorial of their electoral highnesses, concerning the security of the protestant succession, alluded to in the preceding letters.

Declares her resolution to promote the succession in the house of Brunswick.—Cannot insist on the removal of the pretender from Lorraine.—Will not consent to the residence of the electoral prince in England.

THE queen having considered the memorial of their electoral highnesses, *Atle Papers.* the late electress Dowager and the elector of Brunswick, thinks fit to give the following answer: That Mr. Harley was directed to assure their electoral highnesses, her majesty would not only consent to, but promote any additional security they should desire, for the succession of their electoral house to her crowns, consistent with her honour, her safety, and the laws whereby that succession is established. That her majesty has used her instances to have the pretender removed out of Lorraine, and since the late addresses of parliament has repeated them, and has writ herself to the duke of Lorraine to press it in the strongest terms. This her majesty has done to get him removed, but it cannot be imagined it is in her power to prescribe where the pretender shall go, or by whom he shall be received. His being removed out of France is more than was provided for by the peace of Ryswick.—Correspondence with the pretender is by law high treason, and it is her majesty's interest and care to have that law strictly executed. The vain hopes entertained at Bar le Duc, and the reports from thence are not to be wondered at. Her majesty thinks herself fully secured, as well by treaty as by the duty and affection of her people, against all attempts whatsoever. Besides these securities her majesty has a settled militia, and such other force as her parliament, to whose consideration she referred that matter, judged sufficient for the safety of her kingdom; and it cannot be unknown that a standing army in time of peace, without consent of

Period I. of parliament, is contrary to the fundamental law of this realm. Her majesty
 1700 to 1714. is so far from being unfurnished with a fleet; that she has at this time more
 1714. ships at sea, and ready to be put to sea, than any other power in Europe.

Her majesty looks upon it to be very unnecessary, that one of the electoral family should reside in Great Britain to take care of the security of her royal person, of her kingdoms, and of the Protestant succession as is expressed in the memorial. • This, God and the laws have entrusted to her majesty alone, and to admit any person into a share in these cares with her majesty would be as dangerous to the public tranquility, as it is inconsistent with the constitution of the monarchy. After the frequent assurances her majesty has given, of her resolutions to maintain the succession as by law established, there can be no room to doubt but her majesty will do all that is in her power to secure it. The common interests of her majesty and of the elector will certainly be best secured by a mutual confidence, and by their acting in concert together. This her majesty has always desired, and will on all occasions promote. When her majesty considers the use which has been endeavoured to be made of the titles she has already conferred, she has little encouragement to grant any more. Granting titles of honour in the last reign to persons of foreign birth gave such dissatisfaction to the nation as produced a provision in the act of parliament, whereby the succession is established in the electoral house, that when the limitation in that act shall take effect, no persons born out of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, Ireland, or the dominions thereunto belonging, tho' naturalized or made a denizen, (except such as are born of English parents) shall be capable to be of the privy council, or a member of either house of parliament, or to enjoy any office or place of trust, or to have a grant of lands, tenements, or hereditaments from the crown to himself, or any other in trust for him. Her majesty is thus particular in her answer to the memorial, and hopes there will be such a good understanding between her majesty and the elector, that as she will continue to do all she can to maintain the succession, so nothing will be asked of her Majesty but what shall be proper to be complied with.

Given at our court at Kensington the 19th day of June, 1714, in the thirteenth year of our reign.

M E M O I R S
OF
S I R R O B E R T W A L P O L E.

Original Correspondence and authentic Papers.

PERIOD THE SECOND.

1714—1720.

1714.

HORACE WALPOLE TO THE REV. HENRY ETOUGH.

*Character of lord Halifax.—His dissatisfaction and intrigues with the tories.—
Causes of the report that a tory administration was to be formed on the ac-
cession of George the first.—No foundation for that report.—Character of
sir Thomas Hanmer.*

DEAR ETOUGH,

Putney, Sept. 21, 1752.

I Doe not pretend to deserve any of the engaging good qualitys, you heap upon me, excepting that of truth; what I know I am free to tell you, but will tell you nothing positively, but what I think I know.

As to lord Halifax, I think he was an able speaker, and an aspiring minister, insolent in power, and miserable and dejected to the last degree when out of it; it was sayd that before queen Ann's death, he had condescended to make his court to lord Oxford, and was upon tolerable terms with him weaning himselfe from his former intimacy and cordiality, with the steady whigs; upon her

Period II.
1714 to 1720.
Etough
Papers.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.
1714.

her majesty's demise, he ambitioned to be lord high treasurer of Great Britain, but finding that those who were like to be considerable, and to be consulted, thought it most adviseable, to putt that great office in commission, among whom lord Townshend had the greatest weight at Hannover; it is very possible, and indeed probable that lord Hallifax upon his own strength, thought fitt to recommend himselfe to be lord treasurer, and Bromley to be his chancelour of the exchequer, and sir Thomas Hanmer to be teller of the exchequer, and other torys to other places, in order to make himselfe the cheif of a motley ministry, but I doe not beleive that Bromley ever had the offer made him of being chancelour of the exchequer. Sir Thomas Hanmer was talk'd of on account of his having assisted in rejecting the Commerce Bill, and for his more moderate behaviour at the latter end of queen Ann's reign, (which as you very well observed, proceeded from his being disappointed in his hopes of the seals) to have some considerable place, nay, there was a flying report of his being one of the secretary's of state, but it was nothing but report.

You must know that there was att the court of Hannover before queen Ann dyed, two considerable ministers in opposition to one another, Mr. Bernsdorf and Mr. Gortz; the first always endeavoured to encourage and promote a disposition in the king for the succession of his family to the crown, the other was as earnest to divert and dissuade him from it as a chimerical notion; when the throne became vacant, Bernsdorf espoused the whig party, and Gortz that of the torys, and I beleive their intrigues and correspondence, with each side was managed accordingly; and 'tis possible that by this means the torys might have had some, or made themselves beleive they had some glimmering expectations of being employed, but they must have been very slight and very transient, and all imaginary schemes of a mixt ministry soon vanished, by his Majesty having appointed before he left Hannover some time lord Townshend to be sole secretary of state: and as he had it in his power to recommend his colleague, Mr. Boyle was offer'd that place, but he perceiving that there would be a great fermentation in parliament, on account of the male administration, at the latter end of queen Ann's reign, in which, altho' he was no ways concerned, having resigned the seals upon the removall of lord Godolphin, as he was not of a temper to act in troublesome times, declined that station, and was at his own request made lord Carleton, and I recommended Mr. Stanhope (afterwards lord) to lord Townshend to be secretary of state; knowing indeed that he had a fruitfull and luxuriant genius in foreign affairs, which I hoped he would have sufferd to be check'd or pruned by lord Towns-

Townshend's prudence, but I never imagined he would have proved wild, mad, and ungratefull; upon the whole I do not believe that Bromley or any other considerable torys had the offer of any considerable places from king George. 'Tis possible that Hammer might have had a teller's place, if he would have left his party; for my part I never look'd upon him as of any consequence, his person, parts, and principles were of a piece; he had a very handsome mien and appearance, butt 'is said he could not please the lady's; he could make an eloquent elaborate and plausible speech, but never was thought a man of business, or knowledge. He would act and vote with the torys, and yett sayd he was no jacobite; he declared himselfe for the Hannover succession, and would never act or vote in support of it; he dyed at last, poor gentleman, without having much obliged or disobliged any person or party, and rather ptyed than either hated or beloved.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.
1714.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Requests that Mr. Rogers may be excused from serving the office of sheriff on account of his wife's death.

MY LORD,

Nov. 3, 1714.

BY the best accounts I have mett since my coming hither, I find our election affairs in a very hopefull way, and see no body that is at all desponding but the Sandringham family, but I hope I shall spur them up, and make them exert a little.

Walpole
Papers.

The cheif occasion of my giving your lordship this trouble is to acquaint you that Mr. Rogers's wife died yesterday, and I had from him this morning the most moving and melancholly letter I ever read, begging to be excus'd from being sheriff this year only, and he will very willingly serve upon any other occasion. What makes this more easy is that Mr. Durrant is desirous to have it now, and King Tom has a great ambition to be king George's first sheriff; sir Charles Turner was here yesterday and concurs in opinion that Mr. Durrant should be the man. I really think we shall make great use of Mr. Rogers on the sea coast, and I sincerely beleive he cannot bear the thoughts of making a show just upon the death of his wife. I dine to-morrow at sir Jacob's, who is very stout and resolute.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.

1716.

1716.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO HORACE WALPOLE.

The pretender to be crowned king at Perth, in consequence of the assistance promised by the regent of France.—Nothing but a strict union with the emperor and Holland will deter the regent from promoting the cause of the pretender. The king places absolute confidence in the pensionary.

DEAR HORACE,

Jan. 25—26, 1716.

Walpole
Papers.

Private.

THE pretender is now at Perth, and to be crowned king of Scotland. This step his friends here would not have suffered him to take in the present situation of affairs unless the regent had given strong assurances of assistance. They send over in single ships, arms and ammunition, and officers, and those who are in the secret of their affairs seem confident, they shall be further and more openly assisted as soon as the season will permit. For my part I cannot think any thing can divert the regent from taking vigorously part with the pretender, but a strict union amongst our old friends and allies, by which he will see, that he cannot meddle with our affairs here without involving France in a new war with all Europe; and by the best intelligence we have, the passion of the French is so strong in favour of the pretender, that nothing but the fear of a new and general war can prevent their assisting our rebels here. For this reason I have constantly pressed the defensive alliance with the emperor, and that the kings of Denmark and Prussia might be admitted into the guaranty of the barrier and succession, and I will venture to say, that things are now growing to such a crisis, that unless some system of this kind is speedily formed, we cannot promise ourselves, that the peace will be of any duration. The king therefore would have you talk seriously to the pensionary upon this subject, in whom he has a most entire and absolute confidence; his majesty approves of his sentiments in relation to not deferring the treaty for renewing the alliance between Britain and them, upon the account of any new engagements to be taken with him in relation to his German territories. But when that treaty is finishing, common sense tells both the States as well us, that something of that kind ought to be done; and that we ought not to delay the forming these alliances, if we intend either to be safe or quiet. God be thanked we shall do as well as our neighbours,
having

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having a good parliament, and a good army; besides the farther provision of troops, which as I told you in my last, the king is making, and with which you may acquaint the pensionary in confidence. I am with the greatest truth.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.
1716.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO HORACE WALPOLE,

Dismissal of lord Nottingham and his brother.

DEAR HORACE,

March 6th—17th, 1715—16.

* * * * You will be surpris'd at the dismissal of the family of the Disbolls;* but all the trouble we have had in favor of the condemn'd lords arose from that corner, and they had taken their plea to have no more to do with us, and so the shortest end was thought the best. I don't well know what account to give you of your situation here, there are storms in the air, but I doubt not they will all be blown over, I am ever yours, &c.

Walpole
Papers.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO BERNSDORF.

The lords of the cabinet represent the inconveniences which will result from the king's journey to Hanover, and the necessity of his presence in England.—Recommend that the prince of Wales may be appointed sole regent, and with the usual restrictions.

SIR,

Whitehall, May 19, 1716.

IN obedience to his majesty's commands communicated to us by you, we have had a meeting with my lord chancellor, the dukes of Devonshire and Marlborough, and the earl of Sunderland, to consider in what manner it might be most adviseable to settle the regency here, in case his majesty should determine to spend some part of the year at Hanover; and as in the course of this deliberation it was impossible for the inconveniences of his majesty's journey not to occur to us in the first place, we think ourselves bound in duty to lay before his majesty with all possible submission the substance of our thoughts on that head; that since we were all unanimously of opinion that his majesty's absence from his British dominions might prove of the utmost prejudice to his interests, his majesty may be apprised of the true reasons

Townshend
Papers.

Original
Draft.

* Lord Nottingham a famous tory, and speech maker, is gone over to the whig side: they toast him daily, and lord Warton says, it is *Disfmal* (so they call him from his looks) will save England at last.—Swift to Mrs. Johnson, Dec. 5, 1711, Letters, vol. v. page 162.

Period II. which obliged his servants to be of an opinion that cannot but be highly un-
 gratefull to them, while there is a possibility of its being in any respect dis-
 agreeable to his majesty. To sett their reasons in as clear a light as may be,
 they beg leave to take a summary view of the present situation of affairs both
 at home and abroad, that so it may appear what effect his majesty's journey
 may be likely to have with respect both to the one and the other.

And first it is most apparent that tho' his majesty's arms have, by the blessing of God been superiour to those of the rebels, and tho' the parliament have in the compass of two sessions done all that was suggested to them, and even more than could be expected towards suppressing the faction of jacobitism, yet the rage and spirit of that party is still very far from being subdued. For having been considerably numerous ever since the revolution, they made such vast accessions of strength under the last four years of the queen, during which time they found means to engage in their interests, not only a great number of private persons, but many of the largest communities (as appears by the conduct of both the universities, and even of London itself till lately) that the confidence of their numbers encouraged them to enter into the rebellion upon their own bottom destitute of all succours from abroad, and still supports them in the same spirit and designs, notwithstanding their late losses and all the endeavours of the parliament. So that it is to be feared the fire of the whole rebellion is rather smothered for a time than totally extinguished, and that it lyes ready to catch hold of the first convenient matter that shall be offered it, and may break forth with fresh fury. This is but too evident from the strong disposition in favour of the rebels, which has already shewn itself in different shapes ever since the defeat at Preston, and which appears not only by that open and barefaced obstruction of justice which is at present offered in the tryals in the inferiour courts, but likewise by that excess of tenderness which has been expressed for the criminals on every occasion, even in places where his majesty had the least reason to expect it; which shews at once the strength and riches of the faction. The subduing therefore and eradicating of this evil is what ought principally to be aimed at and intended, not so much by violent remedies (which are always dangerous and often fatal) as by a constant steady and uniform application in every branch of the administration towards working out the inmost causes of this distemper, the force of which by this method may in some short time be insensibly dispell'd; but such a strict and vigilant application of powers distributed through so many different hands, and in a case where such
 numerous

numerous difficulties are to be struggled with, can hardly be hoped for without the invigorating influence of his majesty's presence and inspection, to quicken the timorous, to strengthen the hands of his servants, and to damp the hopes and expectations of his enemies. Besides which, as the party have all along subsisted on false and scandalous reports, forged without the least colour or shadow of reality, so they will not fail to give the most malicious turn to a step of this nature, and possibly such a one, as may not only make impression on the vulgar (who seem as yet susceptible of the most gross absurdities) but even alienate the minds of many who are at present zealous and entirely well affected to his majesty's service. These we look on to be some of the most natural and obvious consequences of his majesty's going abroad in the present unsettled condition of affairs at home.

Period II.
1714 to 1719.
1716.

And if we proceed to look abroad we humbly apprehend the objections arising thence to hold full as strong against this journey. For his majesty's interest in foreign parts will ever keep pace with the credit and reputation of his affairs at home, so that whatever impairs the latter, will no less certainly affect the former, and accidents may arise by some unforeseen commotion in his absence which may discourage foreign powers from proceeding in those engagements with his majesty which they now are very forward to enter into. For we cannot but observe, that tho' his majesty's security depends so much on the strength of alliances; and tho' his endeavours have not been wanting to procure such as might be necessary for his safety, yet the princes with whom we were to negotiate were so cautious of engaging till they should see the fate of the rebellion in some measure decided, that no one treaty for our security is yet perfected, excepting that with the States Generall. But now that the reputation of his majesty's affairs is so well established that most of the princes in Europe are courting his alliance, we humbly conceive it would be of very dangerous consequence to put it again in the power of fortune and events to hinder his majesty from concluding such treatys as he shall judge necessary; and even tho' no new disturbances should arise, which doubtless his majesty's enemies will be encouraged to attempt during his absence, yet we are of opinion that if his majesty should fix his residence at Hanover for this summer, so much time would pass in referring matters to his council here, and in receiving their opinion, as join'd to the ordinary difficulties incident to all negotiations, would make it impracticable for his majesty to conclude a treaty with the emperor, or any of the northern potentates, before the season
of

Period II. of the year returns that will make it requisite for him to meet his people in
 1714 to 1720. parliament. Neither can any doubt be made, but that the regent of France,
 1716. who has hitherto lost no engine unemployed to defeat our alliance with the
 emperor, and whose principal aim seems to be to gain time for putting in execution the designs he has formed against his majesty will eagerly lay hold on such an opportunity to distract the king's affairs, either by encouraging and supporting the jacobites in some attempt here, or by amusing us with specious and insidious proposals at a juncture, when he is sure so much more time than ordinary must be consumed in examining and detecting them, and in advising and returning an answer; and late advices from France, of the most unquestionable credit, do sufficiently justify our apprehensions on this head. But what we take to be the most fatal inconvenience of this journey is, that the Baltick Squadron (which alone secures to his majesty the ballance and arbitration of the north) must by waiting for his majesty's orders, and by the usual communications to be made hither, loose so much of the season proper for action, as will render that expensive armament wholly fruitless and insignificant, which may not only expose his majesty's dominions in Germany to imminent danger, but likewise administer matter of complaint to such as are upon the watch in parliament, for every handle of traducing and making odious his majesty's administration.

Having thus in discharge of our duty communicated to you these considerations in order to your laying them before his majesty, we proceeded to consider in obedience to his majesty's commands in what manner the regency might be most properly constituted during his absence, and upon a careful perusal of the precedents finding no instance of persons being joined in commission with the prince of Wales, and few if any restrictions upon such commissions, we are of opinion that the constant tenour of ancient practice cannot conveniently be receded from.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Requests the king to appoint commissioners for the office of privy seal during his absence at Aix la Chapelle.

SIR,

London, July 24th, 1716

Harrington
Papers.

THE king having been so good, as to allow me, to go to Aix la Chapelle, this latter season, to drink the waters, I have since mention'd it, to the prince, who has been pleas'd to allow me the same liberty; I acquainted his royal

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highness, that it would be necessary to appoint commissioners to execute the office of privy seal, during my absence, as was done in like cases before, and that Mr. Southwell, Mr. Vernon, two of the clerks of the council, and Mr. Andrew Charlton, who were it, after lord Wharton's death, would be very proper persons; he was pleas'd to agree to it, and order'd me to write to you about it, to have the king's approbation, and orders, for the passing such a commission; lord Townshend also writes to you about it. I beg you would lay this before his majesty, with my most humble duty, and that I should not have made use of the liberty he has been so good to allow me of going to Aix, but that there seems at present to be no prospect of any uneasiness, or disorder here, so that the attendance of every body will be the less necessary, and that indeed my health does require it extremely. I must entreat you to send, as soon as possible, his majesties orders about this commission, and his approbation of the persons, for I shall otherwise loose the season of the waters; I hope the king will find the benefit to his health, that he proposes, from the waters of Pyrmont, and that we shall see him early in the winter back again here, for without that there is no prospect, but of certain ruine and confusion; I am ever dear sir, with the greatest truth and esteem, yours, &c.

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STEPHEN POYNTZ TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Is commissioned by lord Townshend and secretary Methuen. to hold a private correspondence with him, to be communicated only to the king.

SIR,

Albemarle Street, 28th July, 1716.

IT is impossible for me to open the commission I have the honour to be charged with from my lord Townshend and Mr. Methuen to you, without being putt in mind of returning you my most humble thanks for your many great favours, and particularly for the part, that you were so kind as to take in that, to which I ow the honour of being now employed in writing to you. Nothing less than the experience of so much goodness could support me under the unequal task that is assigned to me of being regularly to lay before you such occurrences and observations as my lord Townshend and Mr. secretary Methuen think less proper to be inserted in their publick dispatches. I am never to write to you but by the hand of a messenger, and my lord and Mr. Methuen do most earnestly beg, that the letters you shall receive from me may not be communicated to any body, but to his majesty only, and that with
all

Stanhope
Papers.

Period II. 1714 to 1720. all imaginable precautions of secrecy; and they desire to receive from you by the same conveyance, under cover to me, all such particulars as the king may judge improper and inconvenient to be communicated to the whole cabinet council. I am therefore by their command to acquaint you that hitherto every thing goes well, the prince appearing entirely disposed to follow his majesty's directions, and to answer his intentions in every respect. The only apprehension they labour under is lest some division should be formed in the army, by the opposition there is between the duke of Argyle and my lord Cadogan, which they desire you to assure his majesty they will labour to prevent with all possible fidelity and application. You will see by my lord Townshend's dispatch, that lord Belhaven makes application to be knight marshall of Scotland; this is one of the places that the prince is at liberty to dispose of without consulting his majesty; however, you will see he chooses to refer it to the king's disposal, and my lord Townshend and Mr. Methuen are humbly of opinion, that his majesty's gratifying his royal highness by conferring it on lord Belhaven will have a good effect at the prince's first setting out, and will tend to confirm his royal highness in the disposition of referring all matters of importance to his Majesty: and though lord Belhaven be a creature of the duke of Argyle's, yet they think they have reason to believe that he will always fix his chief dependance on those who have his fortune in their hands; and he has hitherto behaved himself with such zeal for his majesty's service in parliament as very well to deserve this mark of his royal favour. I am with the most dutiful respect.

What follows is in lord Townshend's hand, and signed by him and Methuen.

SIR,

We are of opinion that the method above mentioned is on several accounts the properest for carrying on a private correspondence with you, and repeat to you as our most humble request, that you would lay this letter, and all others of the same nature before the king, but must at the same time beg that none else may see them.

STEPHEN

ORIGINAL-CORRESPONDENCE.

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STEPHEN POYNTZ TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

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Thinks the regent insincere, and that he will not consent to the demolition of Mardyke.—Enforces the good policy of not breaking off the negotiation with France, until that point is settled.

SIR,

July 21st. 1716.

I Am commanded by my lord Townshend to acquaint you that he has received your private letter of the 28th July, but that the last Dutch mail brought him no letters of any kind from you, which he earnestly desires may never be the case again, since the prince will be apt to suspect that my lord receives letters from you, but sinks them. My lord Townshend and Mr. Methuen are of opinion that considering on how right a foot you putt the negociation with the abbé du Bois, his majesty runs no risk of being brought under the necessity of declaring his sentiments in relation to the treaty with France, since it is morally impossible that the regent should ever consent to demolish Mardyke in the manner his majesty proposes by the project; but if he should, in order to gain himselfe the credit of this alliance with England, consent to it in words, yet it is not to be imagined he will ever dare to render himself so unpopular in France as the effectuall demolition of Mardyke must unavoidably make him, and while so important an article should remain unexcuted it is thought that his majesty would be justified to all the world in keeping the same forces on foot and using the same precautions with respect to France, as he would, if no treaty had been made. However should the regent be brought to give up in words and appearance the point of Mardyk; considering what effect such a compliance on the part of France would have in England, and how necessary it will be thought here, even without any treaty, for his majesty to keep the crowns of France and Spain from being united; it is their opinion that in such a case it might be of very ill consequence for his majesty to shew any signs of aversion to a treaty with France upon the above mentioned terms, and that such a step must end in the ruin of those of his majesty's servants, who should fall under the suspicion of having advised it.

Townshend
Papers.
Original
Draft.

The accounts which Mr. Walpole's last letters bring of the behaviour of the French ambassadour at the Hague, shew plainly that the regent is shuffling with respect to Mardyk, for whereas it was agreed between the abbé du Bois and you, that the negociation at the Hague should be suspended till you could receive by his hands the regent's positive answer with respect to Mar-

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

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dyke, it appears that M. de Chateaufneuf has on the contrary received instructions to propose an expedient for opening the conferences as soon as possible, without the least regard to what passed between you and the abbé, which lord T. and Mr. Methuen take to be a great proof of the regent's insincerity, and of his not intending to give a plain and satisfactory answer upon the article of Mardyke; and since the pensionary is privy to all that passed between the abbé and you, they are of opinion that Mr. Walpole should be instructed to avoid entering any farther into negotiation till you receive the answer you have been made to expect from the abbé du Bois, which, if it should prove evasive and unsatisfactory will give his majesty a fair opportunity of breaking off the negotiation with credit upon this important point.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Cabals of Sunderland and Cadogan with the duchess of Munster, who is angry at not being created an English duchess, to remove the ministers.—Intrigues of Bernsdorf and Robethon.—Sunderland makes professions of reconciliation and friendship.—Walpole laments the uncertainty of their situation.—Necessary to know whether the king will return time enough to summon the parliament.—The prince anxious to hold it.—Seems desirous to secure an interest independant of the king.—Difficulty of managing both the king and prince.—Duke of Argyle's frequent visits to Hampton Court.—Directs in what manner he is to receive count Quirini.—This secret correspondence only known to Townshend and Mr. Methuen, whom he highly applauds.

DEAR SIR,

July 30—August 10, 1716.

Stanhope
Papers.

ALTHO' you were very sensible how affairs stood among us here at your departure, and were acquainted with the heats and divisions betwixt the king's servants, yett we having pick'd up some particular accounts which may a little contribute to your better informations, I thought it not improper to write to you a little at large, that you may know in what situation we apprehend our matters stand at present.

We conceive then there is reason to believe that the designs of lord Sunderland, Cadogan, &c. were carried further, and better supported than we did imagine whilst you were here, and that all the foreigners were engaged on their side of the question; and in cheif that the dutchesse of Munster enter'd into the dispute with a more than ordinary zeal and resentment against us, inso-much that by an account we have of a conversation with the king at the dutchesse

dutcheffe of Munster's, they flatter themselves that nothing but the want of time and the hurry the king was in upon his going away, prevented a thorough change of the ministry, which they still proposed to carry on upon the whig foot, exclusive of us, and by the account we have, there was no difficulty at all in removing me; you, it was thought might be taken care of in the army, but they were at a losse about my lord Townshend. That this was discours'd of there seems to be no room for doubt, how far the king gave into it is not sufficiently explain'd, or whether he was more than passive in hearing the conversation; but it seems to me so contradictory to the accounts I allways had of the king's behaviour to lord Townshend and you upon this subject, that I am at a losse how to question what is positively affirmed, or to believe what is so very extraordinary and irreconcilable with all other parts of the king's conduct, but now you are inform'd of this, I think you will be able to learn or guesse what foot we stand upon. That the dutcheffe of Munster was very angry at her not being an English dutcheffe is most certain, and that she imputes the whole to my lord Townshend, and has express'd a particular resentment against him; I fear old Bernsdorf has given into these matters more than we are willing to believe, but yett I cannot be perswaded that he had any thoughts of entering into their thorough scheme, which to me must appear impossible, when I recollect the discourse I had myself with him upon these topics: Robethon's impertinence is so notorious, that we must depend upon it he does all the mischief he possible can; but if the heads can be sett right, such little creatures must come in in course, or may be despis'd.

Lord Sunderland talks of leaving England in a fortnight, and to be sure will not be long from you; he seems very pressing to have instructions from us how to behave at Hanover. His professions for an entire reconciliation and a perfect union are as strong as words can expresse; and you may be sure are reciprocall; and when I consider that common interest should procure sincerity among us, I am astonish'd to think there is reason to fear the contrary. What to my conception is first and cheifly necessary is the king's return, if practicable, which must determine these doubts one way or other, for nobody can answer for the succeffe of any thing, as long as nobody durst undertake, or knows, he shall be supported in what is found necessary for carrying on the king's busineffe. I find lord Sunderland and they persuade themselves the king will come back before the parliament fitts; the prince talks of nothing but holding the parliament. It were very materiall to us to know which will be the case, because I think a different management will be necessary accord-

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ing to this event, and such measures must be kept with the prince, if he is to hold the parliament, as may perhaps be misrepresented with you, and may be declin'd if the king comes over himself.

And now I have mentioned the prince, 'tis fitt you should know how it stands with him, which is in appearance much better than it was, and instead of pretty extraordinary treatment, we meet civill receptions. He seems very intent upon holding the parliament, very inquisitive about the revenue, calls daily for papers, which may tend to very particular informations; and I am not sure, they are not more for other people's perusal than his own. By some things that daily drop from him, he seems to be preparing to keep up an interest of his in parliament independent of the king's; but if that part is to be acted, I hope 'tis not impossible to bring him into other and better measures, but for this I do not pretend to answer. As for our behaviour to his highness we take care not to be wanting in duty and respect, not to give any offence or handle to such as are ready to take any opportunity to render business impracticable, and we hope we demean ourselves so, that neither they who would misrepresent us to the king for making our court too much to the prince, nor they who would hurt us with the prince for doing it too little, can have any fair advantage over us, but this is a game not to be manag'd without difficulty. Lord Townshend goes to-morrow to live at Hampton Court, I shall go twice a week, and on those publick days we both shall keep tables. This is a burthen not to be avoided, and what is expected from us, since 'twas determined that neither king nor prince would keep a green cloth table, and the white stoffs are generally gone to their respective homes except lord Steward. The duke of Argyle comes constantly to court, appears in publick and has his private audiences, and not without influence.

Count Quirini has lately had some conferences with lord Townshend and self, he has made great tenders of his good offices at Hanover, and given the strongest assurances of his friendship; we have engaged him and obliged him enough to merit his service if he render any: he will apply to you as a friend and confidant, and you must receive him as such, but take care not to trust him, nor make any other use of him, than to learn what you can from him.

This correspondence is a secret to all the world except lord Townshend and Mr. Mettwyn. He is acquainted with every step we take, and has indeed entered into business with us with so much friendship and honour, that we are in the same confidence and intimacy with him, as we were with you:

you : what comes from Mr. Poyntz you are in all respects to treat as from ourselves, and 'tis desired your private letter may for the future be directed to him; this saves the trouble of denying and chicaning about the correspondence both to and from you; and I promise you 'tis necessary to say every post something that shall look like truth upon the subject of the private correspondence. I am ever dear Don, &c.

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ROBERT WALPOLE TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Tories are well received by the prince.—Reports circulated that the prince hates the ministers in England, and that they are displeasing to the king.—Necessary to ascertain the truth or falsity of these accounts.—The duke of Argyle endeavours to gain over some of the discontented whigs.

August 7—18, 1716.

BY a letter I wrote to you some time since, I gave you the best account I then could of the state of our affairs. What I have now to add from the occurrences that have since happened is to tell you, that not only the duke of Argyle and lord Ilay, &c. but duke of Shrewsbury, Dick Hill, lord Rochester, and their wives and other tories are constant attendants at Hampton Court. They generally choose to come on the private days; but their reception gives great offence to all well wishers, and I assure you, does not a little animate the tories, who generally, I mean such as are near the town, resort to court, and meet all possible encouragement to go on so. I cannot but say, the prince is civil to us, but that is all that I can say, which is now so well known and understood, that the tories take great pains to publish it; that the prince hates us, and at the same time that we are almost lost with the king, having all the foreigners determined against us. This is the situation which the world looks upon us to be in, which, if be true, as far as relates to your side of the water, it is very desirable that we should know it, to take our measures accordingly; and if is not true, I am sure it is absolutely necessary that some method should be found out to make the contrary known, for no man can serve in this nation, whose credit with the prince is supposed to be lost or declining.

Harrington
Papers.
Private.

We have very good accounts that the duke of Argyle and his creatures are endeavouring to engage particular persons against next sessions. I think it cannot be doubted from the reception the tories meet at court that there is an understanding betwixt him and them, tho' the persons he particularly applies to are whigs that he apprehends are disgusted.

EXTRACT

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LORD TOWNSHEND TO HORACE WALPOLE.*

Septennial Bill passes the House of Lords.

Whitshall, April 10, 1716.

Walpole
Papers.

THE Septennial Bill was this day brought into the House of Lords by the duke of Devonshire, seconded by lord Rockingham, and there appeared but little spirit or power to oppose it. When this is passed, we may perhaps be able to speak in a more peremptory manner to France, than we have done yet.

MR. MOYLE TO HORACE WALPOLE.

On the proposed repeal of the Triennial Act.

London, April 20, 1716.

Walpole
Papers,

SINCE your brother's happy recovery from his late violent illness, the whole discourse of the town and even the country too, turns upon the repealing the Triennial and enacting a Septennial Bill in its stead. No motion was at first treated with more coldness, the politicians of the Grecian and the neighbouring coffee-houses, fired with uncommon warmth, bellow'd aloud against it, but time and good arguments make them espouse the quite contrary opinion; you may depend on it, this bill in spite of all the drunken mercenary borough's letters, petitions, and remonstrances will be carried through the House of Commons by a considerable majority. Lechmere who always damns every thing that does not originally come from himself, will battle it against the court to the last; next Tuesday the grand debate will be, at which time I design to be present, to enable me the better to give you an account of it.

MR. MOYLE TO HORACE WALPOLE.

Debates on the Septennial Bill.—Arguments on both sides.

London, April 26, 1716.

Walpole
Papers.

IN my last I could only give you an account that the Septennial Bill was committed by a great majority; now I can acquaint you that yesterday it past the House of Commons by a majority of above two to one. The chief arguments used on the whigg side, were the present situation of our affairs, an enemy at home in open rebellion not yet quite subdued, and a faction at home

* The three following letters are by mistake placed out of the regular order of date.

that

that encouraged riots and tumults, and would undoubtedly lay hold of the opportunity that a new election offer'd them to stir up the people to not only riots, but even a fresh rebellion, that the Triennial Act never answer'd the ends at first propos'd by it; that it serv'd for no other end, but to keep alive our animosities, which by the short intervals between elections had not time to cool; and that it debauch'd the common people's morals and principles, and made them capable of the worst impressions, and ruin'd the gentry, who by the frequent returns of elections were put to great expences, and become slaves to the populace; that it hinder'd the due administration of justice, because the magistrates durst not punish many and great crimes, if committed by a voter or for fear of disobliging one, and that at the present juncture when our foreign enemies only wanted a fit opportunity to invade us anew, and put the pretender again upon us, we ought to be upon our guard, and afford him no occasion.

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The tories in their turn harranged on the topicks of liberty, and said that frequent elections were the safety of the kingdom, by placing proper checks on the crown, minister, and even the House of Commons itself; that to repeal this bill, was in effect to own the king could not trust his people; besides they argued it was unjust to continue themselves for any longer time than the people chose them for, they must then be esteemed not the peoples but their own representatives, and what laws should be made by them after the time expired for which they were elected, must be null and void; this doughty argument was insisted on by almost every one, but particularly by sir Thomas Hanmer and Lechmere, but this was both laughed at and refuted. For should that argument hold, then we were a people that had not a supreme power, and so could neither make or repeal any laws at all, besides it took from us the natural laws of self defence and preservation in times of extream danger: for the same power that made that law must surely have an equal power of repealing it. This is the sum of both arguments, but in the debates on this subject, a good deal of warmth was shewn by the tories, and Snell so affronted the whole Scotch nation, in saying that no wonder those gentlemen were for giving up our liberties, who had given up those of their own nation, that he was forc'd to explain himself and ask pardon. Lord Finch abus'd both parliament and ministers, that this bill was calculated to serve the avarice of a few persons; and he term'd the House of Commons a lick spittle parliament for coming into it. It must be own'd the whiggs when it was first propos'd did not relish it at all, but these arguments and the necessity of the times converted them.

Period II. them. And 'it is now evident that they should like what they have done the
 1714 to 1720. better, because there is not a jacobite who does not rail aloud against it, which
 1716. confesses a disappointment and that we have broke their schemes. Thus I have
 given you as full an account of this matter as I could in a letter.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

*The prince favours the tories.—Whigs disgusted—bitterly complains of his and
 lord Townshend's uneasy and uncertain situation—they are disliked by the
 prince, and rumours are in circulation that they are obnoxious to the king.*

Hampton Court, August 9th—20th, 1716.

Stanhope
 Papers.

WE came hither last night since I wrote to you by Mr. Jennings, and here
 we find the duke of Shrewsbury upon pretence of the dutchesses being
 in waiting an inhabitant of the place, which by all accounts, his publick as
 well as private reception and conferences with both prince and princeffe suf-
 ficiently encourage. The duke of Argyle is never absent from hence one
 day, he is constantly in parties of pleasure with the prince, they have begun
 little private balls, which 'tis said are to be twice or thrice a week. The
 company are his highness, his grace, and such of the family as are his grace's
 humble servants, the women, the maids of honour, and some of the dressers,
 and no spectators admitted. You can easily conjecture what must be the
 consequences of these appearances, they have such an effect already, as draws
 the tories from all parts of the neighbourhood, gives such a disgust to the whigs,
 as before Michaelmas I may venture to prophecy, the company here will be
 two to one of the king's enemies.

We are here chain'd to the oare, and working like slaves, and are look'd
 upon as no other; for not only the behaviour and conduct of the prince are a
 weight upon us; but the industrious representations that are made of our
 being lost with the king reduces our credit to nothing. If we are to be the
 king's servants, and to be supported in serving him as king, our hands must
 be strengthened. A known division among ourselves, which common danger,
 if the king pleases, he may remedy, the appearance of a declining interest with
 the king, and the unalterable resentment of the prince, however at present dis-
 guis'd, against such as he looks upon attach'd to the service of the king pre-
 ferable to his interest, leave us in a situation scarce to be weathered through.
 We know of no remedy to these evils but the king's return, and if he will
 putt his affairs upon the same foot as formerly, there will be no difficulty
 in

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in serving with the same success. If he is otherwise disposed, and has thoughts of fixing another scheme, of ministry, not to advise him to determine one way or other, is to betray him, for in the present state of affairs his business will moulder to nothing, and whilst all the world is in a gaze to see which way the wind will blow and settle, nobody cares to put to sea in such a storm and hurricane as we are in at present.

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STEPHEN POYNTZ TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Corfu in danger of being taken by the Turks.—The Italian powers alarmed.—Favourable to the English interests.—The prince of Wales supports the duke of Argyle.—Behaves with great coldness to lord Townshend.—Embarrassments of the ministry on that account.—Necessity of the king's coming over.

SIR,

Hampton Court, August 10th—21st. 1716.

I Am commanded by my lord Townshend and Mr. Methuen to transmitt to you the enclosed pieces of intercepted correspondence from Turin and other parts, for his majesty's perusal, together with their observations upon the contents of them for your own amusement. These letters all agree in expressing the great consternation the princes of Italy are under from the advantages gained by the Turks over the Venetian fleet, and from the danger Corfu is in of falling into the hands of the infidels and thereby opening a door for them to enter Italy. You will see that the prospect of this danger putts the court of Turin upon the thoughts of forming an alliance with the princes of Italy for the security of that country against the Turks, and of setting France at the head of this league. Should the Turks succeed before Corfu and make an attempt thence upon Italy it is not be doubted but the princes of that country how much soever they may agree in the necessity of asking assistance will be extremely puzzled and divided of whom to ask it, having almost as much to fear from their protectors as from their enemies, and being as jealous of the power that must interpose in their defence as those powers will necessarily be of one another. So that whether the regent or the emperor, or both, undertake the defence of this kingdom, that incident, however unfortunate we must esteem it as Christians, will make his majesty's friendship more courted both at Paris and Vienna than any thing else could possibly have done at this juncture; and should the Turks by carrying the war into Italy oblige

Townshend
Papers.

Original
draught.

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that country to invite one or other of the powers above-mentioned to their support; my lord Townshend and Mr. Methuen are of opinion the immediate consequence would be that the regent in order to secure all behind him and to be at full liberty to pour his forces into Italy, would be for concluding the alliance with his majesty out of hand upon terms more advantageous for England than he would otherwise ever have been brought to; while the emperor on the other hand would pique himself to shew the same regard to his majesty, and might be prevailed on by the necessity of the conjuncture not only to redress all grievances complained of by his majesty's British subjects but even to confirm the king's new acquisitions in the empire and give at least his countenance and authority towards ending and settling the affairs in the north to his majesty's satisfaction. So that they are of opinion it will be for his majesty's service still to decline the loan, and to avoid taking new engagements either with the regent or with the emperor, till the scene opens a little farther and shews whether the Turk will be able to carry the war into Italy; in which case they do not doubt but his majesty will have the arbitration and ballance of Europe in his own hands.

This advantageous situation abroad, they are in hopes may go a great way towards retrieving his majesty's affairs at home from the state into which his absence has thrown them, of which you will receive so full an account this post from Mr. Walpole, that they think unnecessary to trouble you with all the particulars. They only think proper to observe to you that the duke of Argyle possesses the prince's ear and confidence entirely, and has introduced the duke of Shrewsbury and Mr. Hill, into his royal highness's favour and intimacy, who are the persons pitched upon by the torys to manage the interest for them, and who give their party all the hopes and encouragement imaginable. In the mean time the persons who have the honour to be entrusted by his majesty are treated with great coldness and reserve. My lord Townshend has been at the trouble of removing hither with his whole family, and is at the expence of keeping a table twice a week; and he together with Mr. Methuen pays the most constant, not to say slavish attendance, upon the prince, in return for all which they can but barely procure marks of outward civility from his royal highness. This visible distinction in favour of the duke of Argyle and his friends has already caused such jealousy and uneasiness among the whigs, that it is apprehended before Michaelmas the court may be fuller of torys than of the others, and such divisions are already formed amongst them that it is impossible to exert any vigour in the administration, much less to think of carrying

carrying on the king's business in parliament while things continue upon the present foot. The only remedy they can foresee is that his majesty should resolve to come over and hold the next session in person, and that his resolution so to do should be immediately intimated and declared, which, together with his majesty's shewing marks of his favour to some whose faithful services have hitherto been unrewarded, they are of opinion may still give a check to the growing hopes of the duke of Argyle's cabal. They make no doubt but this advice will fall under the common imputation of being calculated with a view to force the king home for their own private ends and purposes; but things are come to such a pass that they think themselves obliged to overlook the censures their fidelity may incur, and they could not answer it to their own consciences, if they omitted making this representation. However, if you think it will have a contrary effect to what they propose, and that without doing any good it will only give offence to his majesty they leave it to you to do with it as you think fit.

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P. S. Since writing what goes before the news of the victory over the Turks is arrived, which has been received with the greatest satisfaction here. Lord Townshend and Mr. Methuen are of opinion that if a right use is made of this victory the emperor may be enabled to carry on his views with respect to Italy, in such a manner as both he and the king may find their account in it.

This dispatch from secretary Stanhope is a very interesting and important paper. It contains an abstract of the negotiation carried on with the abbot du Bois at Hanover, which ended in the conclusion of the alliance between England and France. The address and firmness with which Stanhope conducted himself on this occasion, gained him the approbation and confidence of the king, and enabled him, in conjunction with Sunderland, to remove Townshend and Walpole from the administration, who had been the original promoters of this very treaty.

SECRETARY STANHOPE TO SECRETARY METHUEN.

Negotiation between secretary Stanhope and du Bois at Hanover, concerning the alliance with France.—Firmness of the king in insisting upon the

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the demolition of Mardyke, and the removal of the pretender beyond the Alps.—After much difficulty and many objections du Bois consents to the terms proposed by secretary Stanhope.

SIR,

Hanover, August 24, 1726.

Walpole
Papers.

THE abbé du Bois has been here five days, and delivered to me the inclosed paper marked A, as the regent's last resolution touching Mardyke. You will see by it that very little more is proposed than to alter the sluices, but the same depth of water is proposed to be preserved, and even, as I understand him in discourse, the great sluice is proposed only to be dammed up, and not destroyed as in our project, so that by removing the earth or brick work with which they shall have so dammed it up, it may in a very few days, if I mistake not, be restored to its present state, for which reason in the French it is say'd the great passage shall be destroyed, and not the grand radier, &c. as in ours. After having read this paper and several others, containing reasonings upon this matter, I told him I was very sorry no greater progress was made in this negotiation which I saw must come to nothing. He would fain have brought me to reason with him in detail upon this business, about which he had brought a great bundle of draughts, and other writings, but I cut him short, and told him 'twas to no purpose, that I was the more concern'd at this, because his majesty upon the report which I had made of our former conferences, and of the earnest desire which the regent expressed by him for his majesty's friendship, and which I represented as very sincere, had in good measure overcome the reluctance he had to become guaranty to the succession of France, in which his royal highness was so much concerned. In short, I told him this was a matter upon which his majesty was so far from being able to yield any thing, that I was sure his majesty would not so much as give me leave here to talk about it; that the demand made by his majesty was the result of several conferences in the privy council in presence of his majesty after mature deliberation, and a full examination of engineers, sea officers, &c. He then proposed that Monsieur D'Iberville should immediately go to England and take some engineer with him, with draughts and papers, by which he does not doubt to convince the council in England, that what is offered by the regent is sufficient to answer the ends proposed by England. Having reported this conference to his majesty, I had his commands to tell him, that if they sent any body to England, they should be heard; but at the same time gave him no manner of hopes that any thing in our demands would be receded from.

Having

Having thus settled this matter, he pressed me to discourse upon the other two points, that of the removal of the pretender, and that of the succession to the crown of France, I told him that whatever I could say to him upon either of those heads was to be understood as said conditionally, that the article about Mardyke be agreed to his majesty's satisfaction.

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As to the succession to the crown of France, I offered to draw up an article with him expressing his majesty's guaranty of the same to the duke of Orleans in as strong terms as he could suggest, but when he came close to the point, I found that notwithstanding the guaranty of this succession be the only true and real motive which induces the regent to seek his majesty's friendship, yet the abbé was instructed rather to have it brought in, as an accessory to the treaty, than to have an article so framed as should make it evident that was his only drift, and intent. He insisted therefore very strongly for three days that his majesty should in this treaty guaranty the treaty of Utrecht, the 6th article of which treaty contains every thing, which relates to the succession of the crown of France. I told him that I understood the intention of France, Great Britain, and Holland in this negociation to be no other than to settle a lasting peace between themselves respectively; that he well knew the treaty of Utrecht having been made after a long war, in which all Europe was engaged, it was necessary by that treaty to settle the interests of many states very foreign to the business now in hand; that whatever state or prince should require a guaranty of any interest or advantage accruing to him by the treaty of Utrecht, was at liberty to apply directly either to the king, the French king, or the States, who would upon such requisition enter into such conventions, or engagements as they shall think proper thereupon; but that I took it to be our business at present only to settle what immediately concerned either of the party's treating. He still pressing me upon this point, I received the king's commands to tell him plainly this would never be comply'd with; that this being to be a triple alliance, the consequence of inserting a general article to guaranty the treaty of Utrecht would be to oblige England to become guaranty for whatever conditions were stipulated at Utrecht between France and Holland, and so *vice versa*; that it was well known the Dutch had never owned the Duke of Savoy for King of Sicily; and had refused becoming any way party's to all the transactions relating to that prince, and the treaty of Utrecht; that to insert such a clause would be forcing the Dutch, at the time we affect to seek their friendship, to a measure which they would not swallow at the time of their greatest difficulty's; and which

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which must inevitably be very much resented by the emperor, with whom his majesty so lately had concluded an alliance, and with whom he was resolved to live well. The abbé finding me thus peremptory talked of going away immediately, which threat I bore very patiently; but thinking better of it he brought himself to be satisfied, if an article should be inserted to guaranty the 4th, 5th, and 6th articles of the treaty of Utrecht between France and England, and the 3d between France and Holland; the two former of which relate only to the succession of England, and the two latter contain every thing which concerns that of France and the renunciations; upon which it is founded. This proposal was lyable to fewer objections; but I having lately seen letters from Vienna, touching their apprehensions of our alliance with France, laying a great stress upon the hardship which they conceive was done the House of Austria by entailing the succession to the crown of Spain upon the house of Savoy in default of the branch of Anjou; and the same letters expressing that they could not take it ill, if the king by a treaty with the regent should secure the respective successions to the crowns of France and England; I thought it was worth considering whether in truth an article might not be framed, effectually securing the interest of the king and the regent, without giving offence unnecessarily to the house of Austria. I, therefore, prepared the article contain'd in the inclosed paper, marked B. to be substituted in the room of the fifth article of our project, whereby the three powers are to guaranty all and every the articles of the treaty of Utrecht, so far forth as they concern the interests of each of the three powers, and the successions to the two crowns of Great Britain and France, and having lay'd it before the king his majesty was pleased to approve it, and commanded me to use my best endeavours to bring the abbé to consent to it, which it has cost me three days wrangling to do.

As to the business of the pretender you will see by the inclosed paper, marked C. that France offers three expedients, and his majesty is willing to promise that he will accept of one of them, which probably will be the third, when the article of Mardyke shall have been settled to his satisfaction; all the rest of our project stands agreed to with only one small addition inserted in the body of the 7th article, and some lines at the end of it, the first of which additions is relative to what is mentioned in the fifth article as it stands alter'd concerning the two successions; the addition at the end, which puts the several party's under the obligation of declaring war in favour of the injur'd ally if it be necessary, is no more than what is done in the fourteenth article

article of the treaty with Holland for the defence of the succession, and barrier. By agreeing to the preamble, as it stands with the title of elector of Brunswick, I do not know whether the abbé be aware that his master becomes guaranty for the king's new acquisitions in Germany, for which reason, and lest his court should not approve even the fifth article; I have desired that he should both sign the project as it now stands, reserving as you will see in the paper itself, the article of Dunkirk to be determin'd in England. By this means all future cavills will be prevented during the course of this negotiation; and since the expedient which his majesty will accept in relation to the pretender will be that his minister shall sign an act, promising in his majesty's name to sign the treaty immediately after the pretender shall have passed the Alps; 'tis necessary the treaty to be so signed should be previously fixed, and settled; the king has therefore commanded me to sign what has been agreed between the abbé and me, in the manner you will see. I take it for granted that as soon as the abbé's courier reaches Paris, Monsieur d'Iberville will be dispatch'd to you; but if the success of this treaty is to depend upon his convincing you, that what the regent offers as to Mardyke is sufficient, I doubt it wont be concluded in haste.

The abbé had proposed an article drawn in French to guaranty the Dutch Barrier, upon which I had the king's commands to tell him, that his majesty would upon all occasions be most ready to contribute every thing in his power for the security of the States; but that he took it for granted that they would propose for themselves what they judged to be for their service. Upon this occasion I must tell you that one of the worst consequences which his majesty apprehends from this treaty is, that if the French become by it guarantees for the Dutch Barrier, it will furnish them with a pretence, and indeed a kind of right of becoming arbitrators, and umpires of the many differences which will naturally arise between the Dutch and the Flemings, which there is too much reason to fear may be blown up to such a degree in time, as to make a breach between the emperor, and the Dutch, whom they will have an opportunity to play one against the other. Whether, or in what manner this can be prevented is pretty hard to say. I send this dispatch under a flying seal to Mr. Walpole, who I believe may communicate the contents of it in confidence to the pensionary, Monsieur Fagel, and Slingerland; and my lord Townshend will I am persuaded send him his royal highnesses directions how he is to govern himself in this respect. Till the business of Mardyke is settled, I take it for granted Monsieur Chateaufort will not

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not demand any conferences with him; and if he should, Mr. Walpole has a very good reason to decline them, since the negociation for the present is removed from thence. The abbé du Bois whom I did not know to be a counsellour of state of France till now, has full powers in form, and did propose to have signed the treaty here with me; but upon my telling him that could not be, for that his majesty's minister at the Hague had the full powers, he writes to France for orders to go to the Hague which he will probably receive by the return of his courier; in the mean time he remains incognito in my house: how long his being here can be kept a secret, I will not answer, but I think the less it will be talked of will be the better.*

STEPHEN POYNTZ TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Symptoms of a division among the whigs.—Applauds Stanhope's management of the negotiation with du Bois.—Urges the necessity of the king's coming over to hold the parliament in person.—Impolicy in proposing to make sir Richard Child, who was a tory, a peer.

SIR,

Hampton Court, Friday, August 17th—28th, 1716.

Townshend
Papers.

Original
draught.

ON Saturday the 11th instant, I received the great honour of your letter of the 14th N. S. with one enclosed to my lord Townshend. I am commanded by his lordship and Mr. secretary Methuen to return you their most hearty thanks for the communications you are so kind as to make, particularly for imparting to them the abbé du Bois's letter. They are still of opinion, notwithstanding the specious insinuations of that letter, that the regent will never consent to demolish Mardyke in the manner specified by the project, and consequently that the king will never be brought under any difficulty with respect to the guaranty of the renunciations. My lord Townshend is not surpris'd, that the king doubted whether he writt his own sentiments on the subject of the negociation in his dispatch of the 17th July. His majesty knowing, that lord Townshend has long been of opinion, that any farther engagements with the regent, particularly with respect to the successions would only serve to strengthen the regent, and to putt it in his power to do the king greater mischief, without adding the least security to the succeſ-

* The king made choice of the first of the three expedients offered by France, that the French king obliges himself to remove the pretender beyond the Alps, immediately after signing the treaty and before the exchange of the ratifications.

sion of the crown of Great Britain. However what his lordship writt you then was not only pursuant to the prince's commands, but perfectly agreeable to his own sentiments, he being fully persuaded that as the situation of affairs both at home and abroad then stood, it would have been of great disservice to his majesty for the negociation to have splitt upon the single point of the successions.

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His lordship and Mr. Methuen think it the great misfortune of this government that our kings cannot always act up to what they judge right; but must be often obliged to have regard to the humours of their subjects, which will always be more or less troublesome according as that party which has the majority in parliament is in a good or bad temper. And they are sorry to observe, that from the disposition of offices, and the behaviour of lords Sunderland and Cadogan before the king's going over, as well as from the encouragements since given to the torys by the prince's countenancing Mr. Hill, Mr. Hutchinson, the dukes of Shrewsbury and Argyll, the whigs in generall are become so uneasy and divided, that should things continue upon the present foot, the prospect for the next session of parliament would be but melancholly. And lord Townshend and Mr. Methuen are of opinion that in this situation, if the regent had offered full satisfaction with relation to Maryland, and the treaty had miscarried on the point of the renunciations and successions only, it would have been represented even by the whigs, that the king had from the very beginning determined not to come to any accommodation with France, purely that he never might want a standing pretext for keeping the present forces on foot, which suggestion might have gone farther towards disbanding the forces, than any other argument in the mouth of the whigs. Neither as the affairs of the courts of Vienna and Madrid then stood, would the arguments drawn from the apprehensions of disobliging those powers have had their due weight; tho' what has since happened in both those places will add great strength to that consideration. The emperor's entire victory over the Turks will make the friendship of the court of Vienna more respected and esteem'd, and the handsome manner in which the king of Spain has gratified the South Sea Company in all their demands relating to the Asiento, joined with the prospect of having our treaty of commerce fully executed by Alberoni's being become chief minister, will make the court of Madrid much more popular here, and consequently the better enable the king to persist in any resolution which shall have the appearance of being taken in their favour.

But after all, my lord Townshend and Mr. Methuen apprehend that the

Period II. ^{1714 to 1720.} success of any step the king shall think fitt to take, with respect either to the negociation or to any other affairs relating to England, will depend on his majesty's coming over to hold the parliament, and upon his pursuing with steadiness in the next session the same measures which have carried him so successfully through the two preceding ones; and till his resolution on this important point is known, they are utterly at a loss what to advise. However they cannot but think his majesty has determined right in giving the abbé du Bois leave to come on to Hanover, and they think they may be so bold as to say, that if his majesty will but pursue the proper measures here, he need not be afraid to give the abbé such an answer as he shall judge most for his service, since they make no doubt but with the assistance above-mentioned they shall be able to support it here. They think it cannot be doubted but that the abbé's coming must be of great advantage to his majesty's affairs, both as such a submission on the part of the regent will help to make the court of Vienna more observant and respectful towards his majesty, and as the negotiation is by this means taken out of the hands of the French faction in Holland, and left entirely with the king. And they think that even tho' the king were determined never to come into this treaty, yet it would be of great service to his affairs to keep this negociation between the abbé and you alive for some time longer; since the regent will by this means be certainly withheld from supporting the jacobites in the king's absence, which must very much sink the spirits of that party here; and his majesty may by the credit of this negociation find it more easie to influence and lead the court of Vienna into such measures (since their late victory) as may be most agreeable to his majesty's interests, as well as to that of the house of Austria and of all Europe.

My lord Townshend and Mr. Methuen are extremely concerned at what you write about the probability of sir Richard Child's immediate promotion to the peerage. They apprehend that such a mark of his majesty's favour to that gentleman who is a tory, may have a very ill effect at this juncture, and that it will at least revive many pretensions among the whigs which are in every respect better founded, so that it will be of great disservice to his majesty to do it at present: for which reason they desire you would use your utmost endeavours at least to gett it deferr'd till after the next session, by which means his majesty will have the service of sir R. Child in the House of Commons for one session longer; and they make no doubt but the evident reasonableness of this delay will reconcile sir R. Child to acquiesce in it, if he can have his majesty's assurance of its being done at that time.

STEPHEN

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STEPHEN POYN'TZ TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

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*Addresses to the prince.—Discontents fomented by some discontented whigs.—
Again presses the necessity of the king's coming over.*

SIR,

Hampton Court, 21st August—Sept. 1, 1716.

MY lord Townshend and Mr. Mcphuen return youm any thanks for your private letter of the 23d August, and congratulate you on the success of your negociation with the abbé du Bois; which they think very well answers the pains you have employed in it; particularly the article relating to the guaranty they look upon to be drawn up with such caution and dexterity as makes no less for your own credit than for the advantage of his majesty's service; since in it such care is taken to avoid confirming the treaty of Utrecht in general, and to confine the stipulations on the subject of the successions to the immediate interests of the powers contracting, that the emperor cannot with any foundation of reason take exception at this guaranty. As for the abbé's specification of what the regent is willing to do towards ruining Mardyke they look upon it to be so very insufficient, that instead of answering his majesty's intentions, it seems only to prove the regent's insincerity and his resolution never to comply with that important demand. However since his majesty has been pleased to refer that matter hither, they desire he would do them the justice to believe, that they will insist on the strongest and most explicit stipulations on that head from Mr. Iberville, or any one else whom it shall be their lott to treat with, and if the court of France should refuse to give satisfaction in this particular, the treaty will break off upon a point so justly popular here, that every honest man will condemn the regent and applaud his majesty's conduct through the whole course of this negotiation.

Townshend
Papers.

Original
draught.

As to domestick affairs, they command me to acquaint you, that they are well informed the whole body of the torys are promoting addresses from all parts to the prince, the heads of which they hear are already sent down, and that the general tenour of them will be to compliment the prince upon his regency and upon his shewing himself disposed to be a common father to all his people, in spite of the artifices and insinuation of such as delight in war or bloodshed; by which it is intended to reflect on his majesty's conduct, and stigmatize such of his servants as were most active in carrying on the late war against France, and in pursuing the measures found necessary for suppressing the rebellion. They are assured that sir John Packington has undertaken to procure such an address from Worcestershire, and Mr. Bromley another from

Period II. 1714 to 1720. Warwickshire, and that the same are carrying on in most of the western counties; they likewise hear that some of the discontented whigs are entered into this project, encouraged by the duke of Argyll, Mr. Lechmere and Mr. Hamden, and tho' they make no doubt but that the main body of the whigs will now be upon their guard, and oppose a design of such pernicious tendency, yet they find that some well-meaning people have been already drawn in to promote congratulatory addresses to the prince. My lord Townshend and Mr. Methuen are of opinion that this is the wisest step the jacobites have yet taken, since it manifestly tends to set up the son against the father, and to lay a lasting foundation of uneasiness and distraction among those who are best affected to the royal family: however they think themselves obliged to do his royal highness the justice to declare, that they neither hear, nor can perceive by any observations they have yet been able to make, that he has given the smallest encouragement to these addresses.

The only remedy they can foresee for this and other growing evils is, what I had the honour to mention to you in my last, that his majesty should take the resolution of coming over to hold the parliament, and that it should be known immediately he has such an intention. They have nothing further to add on this head, but to desire you would manage the intelligence with such caution, that no person living but the king may know it comes from them.

My lord Townshend does most earnestly desire that you would use your utmost endeavours towards getting the duties on the British tobacco imported into Bremen reduced to the ancient foot as soon as possible; since that matter begins to make a great noise already in London, and will probably give a handle to such complaints in parliament as may confound the business of the whole session.

Enclosed are some pieces of intercepted correspondence which I have the honour to transmit to you by my lord Townshend's command.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

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ROBERT WALPOLE TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

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Mentions the motives and impropriety of the addressees to the prince.—Sunderland in taking leave gives strong assurances of friendship.—The prince eager to settle the business for the next session.—Artifices employed to delay it.—Cabals seem to be in agitation—on the duke of Argyle's pension.—The prince disposed to be more complying.—Is prevailed upon though with difficulty to give a proper answer to the Gloucestershire addressees.

DEAR SIR,

August 30—Sept. 10, 1716.

Stanhope
Papers.

SINCE I troubled you last, you had an account by another hand of the apprehensions we had of addressees, that were sett on foot in severall parts of the kingdom, which we heard no more of till yesterday, that Giles Erle (the duke of Argyle's Erle) that sold to'ther day, brought an addresse to Mr. Methwyn from Gloucestershire. The addresse is to the prince and contains nothing in it that is very liable to objection; but Mr. Erle having no concern in that country, Mr. Methwyn told him, if any gentleman that was thought proper to deliver it, should desire it of him, he would not refuse to introduce him, which was all he could do. Mr. Erle then left the addresse with him, but upon second thoughts came for it again in the afternoon, and said he would deliver it himself. It is observable tho' there is nothing very materiall in this addresse, it comes from the county where an addresse of another spiritt was refus'd; and it seems, since they could not have such a one as they wish'd, they would rather have such a one as the whigs would sign, and could not be objected to, than have none at all, and this is certainly meant as a forerunner to others that are ready prepar'd, and will be of that stile which you were before acquainted with. We have reason to believe there are some more in other countries ready to be sent up, which may be in themselves not very significant, but only to introduce the humour of addressing, which when begun, if it meets with encouragement, you may depend upon it, will be followed in such a manner, as to complement the prince at the expence of the king and his servants, for this was most certainly the first design, and can be of no other use. The Tories are waiting for the event, and flatter themselves with no small advantage from it. Lord Sunderland has left us, and will be soon with you; we parted with all the professions and assurances of mutual friendship and union, that was possible. He seem'd indeed sensible of the ill consequences of the measures he had been engag'd in, and seem'd resolved to re-

turn

Period II. turn again to his senses, and do his best endeavours to sett things right again,
 1714 to 1720. when he had sett them wrong.

1716:

The prince appears to us easy and in good humour, but is very pressing to have the scheme of the next session fix'd and agreed upon and laid before him: you may be sure we use all the method and artifices we can for delay and to gain time, in hopes to hear from you that his highness may probably be eas'd of this trouble. There is begun a round of dinners, the first was at lord Uxbridge's house in Middlesex, the second at lord Orrery's in that neighbourhood: we are told it is to go on, the company, these two lords, duke of Shrewsbury, duke of Argyle, lord Carlton, lord Rochester, Dick Hill, lord Windsor. They have all country houses at about fifteen miles distance, and are frequent attenders at court, and seem to think they have such a prospect as requires and may encourage caballing. I should have acquainted you before, that it being necessary in point of form to pass a patent to revoke the duke of Argyle's patent for his pension of £.2,000. per annum, I did present to the prince a warrant for this purpose, which his highness did refuse to sign; that the pension in law stands still good, but no money will be paid upon it without our direction, which you may be sure will not be had; that I don't know whether you will think proper to mention this to the king, since it can have no consequences before his return, but if his majesty is acquainted with it, which probably should not be omitted, we are of opinion, it will be adviseable not to send any orders about it, for fear of disturbing the prince, who now seems disposed to be easy.

Since I wrote the first part of this, the Gloucestershire address has been deliver'd, which his highness was prevailed upon to receive in the best manner that could be wish'd. He told Mr. Erle that presented it, he was obliged to the gentlemen for their zeal and attention, but desired he would lett them know, that it was more agreeable to him to have all things of this nature addressed to the king. It cost some pains to bring his highness to this temper, and will be a great disappointment to the managers of this affair. It is worth notice that Mr. Lechmere was the penman of this address. Lord Townshend gives you an account of this in his publick dispatch, and begs you will give such a turn to it in your answer, as may please and encourage the prince in this instance of his duty and regard to the king. The prince talks of going in ten days to Portsmouth. The route is to lord Dorset's in Kent, from thence to the speaker's in Suffex, and returns back by lord Scarborough's.

STEPHEN

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STEPHEN POYNTZ TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

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Gives the strongest assurances that the king is satisfied with his ministers in England, and mentions the difficulty he had in persuading the king to permit lord Sunderland to come to Hanover.

SIR,

Hanover, Sept. the 8th. 1716.

Townshend
Papers.

I Have received your letters of the 16th and 21st of August, both which I read to the king who I may venture to say is very well pleased with the foot upon which the negotiation with France stands at present. I believe it will please him best if the regent should not comply with our article about Mardyke, but you may depend upon it that his majesty will be very easie, if by such a compliance France should finish the treaty. By reading these two letters to the king you will perceive that I have broke thro' the resolution I had taken of avoyding for some time to speak directly to the king about returning to England: his majesty hath not authorized me to say any thing upon this head, the mentioning of which doth plainly give uneasiness, but I doe verily believe he will come; I am confident he is very well pleased with the hands his business is in. And you may be perfectly eased of any apprehensions from one quarter, since 'twas with difficulty that I prevailed this morning for leave, that lord Sunderland should come hither after drinking the waters of Aix. He had writt to me for leave, and you will easily imagine if it had not been granted, where the fault would have been laid, so I did really press it and obtained it with difficulty. I am in my own mind persuaded, that it had been better not to have mentioned yett to the king the necessity of his returning to hold the session of parliament, but when such a stress, and so justly is laid upon it, I could not answer to myself the not mentioning it. I have in the main come off better than I expected; and I doe myself verily believe 'twill doe. I am very sincerely yours.

I have received the king's orders to tell the dutchess, that sir Richard Child shall certainly be a peer at the end of next session of parliament, provided he doe not press to be made till then.

STEPHEN

Period II.

1714 to 1720.

1716.

STEPHEN POYNTZ TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Represents the insidious conduct of France in regard to Mardyke.—And again presses in the strongest manner the necessity of the king's presence.

SIR,

Hampton Court, 8th—19th Sept. 1716.

Townshend
Papers.Original
draught.

I Am commanded by my lord Townshend and Mr. secretary Methuen to return you many thanks for the honour of your private letters of the 29th August and 8th September. You will see by the papers enclosed in Mr. Methuen's dispatch, that the event of the negociation with M. d'Iberville is likely to be such as was apprehended, and that there appears as yet no probability of the regent's putting his majesty under the least difficulty by consenting even in words to the demolition of Mardyke. It being very plain by the course of the negociation that though the draining of the waters is made the pretence, yet the maintaining a depth sufficient to admitt men of war and privateers is the reall aim of the French, my lord Townshend and Mr. Methuen have by the directions of his royal highness (with the advice of the council) offered such an expedient as will force M. d'Iberville out of his chicane, and oblige him to own the reall intentions of his court. If the regent should consent to this expedient, it is the opinion of our engineers that the canal will be rendered more effectually incapable of receiving ships of war and privateers, than it would have been even by the first proposalls in the paper annexed to the project; and if he should refuse to comply with it (as every one here is fully perswaded he will) there will be this additionall advantage accruing from the proposall as it is now putt, that it will at once convince the obstinate and unwilling, to believe both here and in Holland, that the draining of the waters is only an idle sound and pretence, since after that is provided for by our consenting to such a depth of the sluice as they themselves insisted on, they are as far from being satisfied as ever, and still insist on such a breadth, as can only be necessary for receiving ships of war or privateers capable of annoying the trade of Great Britain. My lord Townshend and Mr. Methuen conceive, that the making this appear in so strong a light will be of great service to his majesty, not only as it will justify him to all the world in breaking off the treaty on the most important point possible, but as it will furnish the well affected in Holland with means to check that forward disposition which appears in too many there for negotiating with France.

My lord Townshend and Mr. Methuen observe with great concern, that your letter of the 8th instant, speaks with very little certainty of the king's returning

ing into England time enough to hold the parliament. They hope his majesty will doe them the justice to believe, that what they offered and must still be obliged to offer on that head proceeds from no private view or interell of their own, but from a reall sense of the many inconveniences and dangers, to which the whole nation as well as his majesty's family are exposed by his absence. There appears to them no prospect of subduing the spirit of jacobitism, and of restoring the publick tranquillity any other way than by wise and vigorous regulations in parliament, which they have as little prospect of obtaining without the presence of the king to compose the differences and to animate the zeal of his friends. It appears by late discoveries, that a very considerable schism is formed in the church, and every day encreases by the joint industry of the tory and nonjuring clergy, whose congregations, since Paul's speech and the late encrease of disaffection are grown to be very numerous; and if some vigorous remedy be not applied to this evil, the mass of the people may by degrees, under the bait of religion, be drawn in openly to espouse the cause of the pretender. This will make it necessary to pass some laws which however levell'd against the nonjurors principally, will not fail in some degree to affect and irritate the two universitys and the whole body of the clergy; and his majesty will easily conclude, that nothing less than his immediate countenance and protection will be sufficient to support his servants under so invidious, however necessary, a service.

The king's friends as well as enemies in Scotland agree all like one man in opposing the trials, that are carrying on at Carlisle, and it is doubted whether the persons employed will be able to get through those tryals with any sort of credit, not only on account of the difficulties that will be thrown in their way from that quarter, but by the listlessness which reigns in all the courts of justice, except two or three where men of spirit preside. And it is still more doubted whether, after the tryals are over, the executions will not produce a generall disturbance in Scotland, unless they can see that the government is in a condition to resent such usage as they ought. This may give some occasion for making use of the army, which it is certain all imaginable efforts will be used in parliament to gett lessened, and to misrepresent; complaints of all kinds being industriously collected for that purpose. Some method must also be pitched upon for paying off the publick debts, without which we are no nation, and this cannot be done without disobliging several of the monied men who will be impatient at the lowering of interest. These difficulties are such as appear to my lord Townshend and Mr. Methuen to be

Period II. hardly surmountable without the king's presence and immediate support,
 1714 to 1720. and yet are of such a nature as will not admitt of any delay; so that they find
 1716. themselves under an unavoidable necessity of repeating as their most sincere and
 disinterested sentiment, that his majesty should resolve to hold the parliament
 in person. Thus much at least, they do most earnestly beg, that whatever
 his majesty's resolution may be, they may be apprised of it immediately (under
 confidence) since the time of the year requires, that a scheme should be
 formed for the next session, which it will be impossible for them to digest and
 prepare in such a manner as they would wish to do for the ease of his ma-
 jesty's government and for the advantage of his service; unless they can be
 able to foresee whether his majesty will hold the parliament in person or
 not.

This is what they thought themselves obliged to communicate to you, but
 they leave it entirely to you to represent to his majesty as much or as little of
 it as you think proper at this time, and they again repeat to you their re-
 quest, that no one, except the king, may know this intelligence comes from
 them.

STEPHEN POYNTZ TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

*The regent consents to reduce the sluices of Mardyke.—Good effects resulting
 from the conclusion of the treaty with France.*

SIR,

Hampton Court, September 11—22, 1716.

Townshend
 Papers.

*Original
 draught.*

MY Lord Townshend and Mr. Methuen make no doubt but you will be
 very much surpris'd to hear, so soon after what I had the honour to
 write to you in my last, that Monsieur d'Iberville has given in a paper; by
 which he consents to ruine the fascinages and to reduce the sluice to the
 breadth of sixteen feet, which in the opinion of the most skilful of our sea
 officers as well as engineers, will more effectually exclude ships of war and
 privateers, than what was first propos'd in the paper annexed to his majesty's
 project. They impute this alteration in the conduct of the regent, partly to
 the perplexed state of his own affairs, and partly to his having a better
 opinion of his majesty than heretofore. It is also possible that the victory
 of the emperor may have had its share in determining him to this com-
 pliance.

But be the cause what it will, they think they have the justest reason to
 felicitate his majesty on the conclusion of a treaty with France, as an event
 not

not more glorious in itself than advantageous in its consequences. It cannot but be of general service to his majesty's affairs to have it appear to the world, that the reputation of his government is such as has enabled him, even amidst the difficulties under which he has laboured at home ever since his accession to the throne, to extort from France a solemn engagement of destroying that work which the hands of Great Britain itself had so lately helped to raise, and which it is plain from the vastness of expence of the design the late French king intended, should stand to ages to come as a perpetual check to our island, and a lasting monument of his superior policy and glory.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.
1716.

The regent's concluding this treaty, and submitting to purchase it at the price of this demolition will put him so irreparably ill with the old ministry and the Spanish faction in France, that from this moment he must have taken the resolution to throw himself upon the king for support; the consequence of which with respect to his majesty's domestick affairs will be, that the spirit of jacobitism, which has hitherto been buoyed up by the expectation of assistance from the regent, seeing that hope now entirely withdrawn, will sink and fall to nothing, provided his majesty's affairs are carried on with steadiness and resolution.

And as to foreign affairs the credit of a treaty with France upon such advantageous terms, together with the immediate good effects it will produce at home will enable his majesty to make that figure on the continent, which the kings of England ought always to do, by securing to him the balance and arbitration of the affairs of Europe; and this may not only incline the king of Sweden to submit to an accommodation upon his majesty's own terms; but may possibly give occasion to the czar to reflect how far it may be safe for him to proceed in measures, which his majesty will now have his hands more at liberty to resent.

The emperor in the mean time cannot, with any pretence of reason, take offence at this alliance, since in the negotiation of it, he has had opportunity to be convinced, that the king had such regard for his interests that he would sooner have renounced the demolition of Mardyke, than have purchased it upon terms prejudicial to the emperor's rights, or any ways destructive of his views. The only power that can find any shadow for complaint they think is the king of Spain; and yet our greatest crime against him is only the renewing a former guaranty of those renunciations, which he thought fit to submit to in the most solemn manner; and how much soever he may be disposed to re-

Period II. sent it, yet as there is no power in being, except his majesty, to whom he
 1714 to 1720. can have recourse in his present circumstances, it is not doubted but he will
 1716. endeavour to put the best face upon this matter, and still continue to proportion his civilitys to the hopes and fears he has from his majesty, which, as they have been, so they will ever be, the only principle and rule of his behaviour with respect to England.

Upon the whole, they think his majesty's servants have reason to value themselves upon having conducted this negotiation through so many difficultys to such a prospect of success, in which, as you have had the largest share, they desire you to accept of their most sincere congratulations.

SECRETARY STANHOPE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Bernsdorf informs him, that the czar would quarter his troops in the Danish territories, and proposes to secure the czar's ships, and seize his person.—Necessity of speedily concluding the treaty with France, before the troubles in the North break out.

MY LORD,

September 25, 1716, N. S.

Townshend
 Papers.
 Private.

YOUR Lordship will perceive by my public dispatch to Mr. Methuen, something of the apprehensions we are under from our Northern neighbours; nor did his majesty think it proper, that more should be said in the letter, which is to be read in council; but your lordship will acquaint his royal highness with further particulars.

Mr. Bernsdorf came to me this morning to tell me, that the czar has declared that he would quarter his troops in the Danish territories; that the king of Denmark begs advice from the king, and particularly prays, that sir John Norris may stay with him. The Muscovite is already master by land in the king of Denmark's country, and is taking measures to be master at sea likewise. Mr. Bernsdorf thinks it necessary to crush the czar immediately, to secure his ships, and even to seize his person to be kept till his troops shall have evacuated Denmark and Germany. I went immediately to the king, who asked how far I could venture to give orders to sir John Norris. I told him that as far as joining his offices with those of the king of Denmark, I would make no difficulty; and I will accordingly write to sir J. Norris by an express, which shall be dispatched to-morrow to inform him on which side the king inclines: but the king desires that your lordship will consider seriously of this matter, and of instructions for our fleet here.

I do

I do verily believe things will come to an eclat, perhaps before I can have an answer from you. I shall check my own nature upon this occasion, which was ever inclined to bold strokes, till I can hear from you. But you will easily imagine how I shall daily be pressed to send orders to sir J. Norris. The truth is, I see no day-light through these affairs. We may easily master the czar, if we go briskly to work; and that this be thought a right measure. But how far Sweden may be thereby enabled to disturb us in Britain you must judge. If the czar be let alone, he will not only be master of Denmark, but with the body of troops which he hath still behind on the frontiers of Poland, may take quarters where he pleases in Germany. How far the king of Prussia is concerned with him we do not know, nor will that prince explain himself. The king now wishes, and so doth your humble servant, very heartily that we had secured France. - The abbé talks to me as one would wish, and shewed me part of a dispatch from Marshal d'Huxelles this morning, whereby they promise that the minute our treaty is signed, they will frankly tell us every thing they know touching the jacobite projects from the beginning. I was, you know, very averse at first to this treaty, but I think truly as things now stand we ought not to lose a minute in finishing it.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.
1716.

P. S. Since the writing what goes before the abbé shewed me an extract of d'Iberville's letter to Mr. Chateaneuf, by which it appears but too plainly that your lordship judged right of d'Iberville. He is plainly against the thing; and I assure you the abbé is as angry with him as you can be. I do therefore think the only way to end, is to frame, as I often mentioned, such an article as you think it possible for the regent to accept, and send it hither as your ultimatum. I do not despair but that I should prevail upon this man, who as I tell Mr. Methuen, hath a new commission and full powers, dated the 12th instant, to sign it with me as we signed the others.

I am perhaps too easily alarmed, but I confess that I think it will be of fatal consequence, if the negotiation should miscarry; which it certainly will do, if this eclat in the North breaks out before we have finished.

Mr. Bernisdorf has been twice with me to desire that I would recommend to your lordship the business of the money due to Munster and Saxe-Gotha.

Period H.
1714 to 1720.

SECRETARY STANHOPE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

1716. *King satisfied with du Bois, and impatient for the conclusion of the alliance with France.*

September 29, 1716.

Harrington
Papers.

Private.

SINCE my last letter to your lordship, I carried the abbé du Bois to the king for the first time: they parted perfectly well satisfied with each other, and the reasons I have mentioned to your lordship in some of my late letters, continue to make the king very desirous that this matter may speedily come to an issue. A fresh motive, which adds to the king's impatience is the advice we have from Paris of the 21st instant, that Monsieur Beretti, a new Spanish ambassador, had left Paris in order to go to the Hague. We shall be embarrassed what to do with this man, till our business with France be finished one way or other. If we close with France, I think I have a plan for Spain, which will not displease you, which I will communicate to your lordship in a short time.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Confidentially communicates to him his opinion that the prosecution of the Northern war will be their ruin, and earnestly exhorts him to prevail on the king to make a speedy peace.

DEAR DON,

Sunday, September 23—October 4, 1716.

Stanhope
Papers.

Private.

MY heart is so full with the melancholy news you sent me in your last, that I cannot help writing this letter to you, which I beg may be seen by no one person living, but remain absolutely between you and me a secret for ever. My chief design is to beg of you not to consent to sir John Norris staying any longer than the first of November, nor to the king's engaging openly in the affair about the czar. This Northern war has been managed so stupidly, that it will be our ruin. Is it possible for the king to carry it on with Denmark only on his side, and the Muscovite troops against him, supposing even the intended project should succeed? Would it not therefore be right for the king to think immediately how to make his peace with Sweden, even tho' he shou'd be obliged to make some sacrifice in obtaining it?

LORD

LORD TOWNSHEND TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.

1716.

Ill effects of a rupture with Russia, particularly in preventing the importation of naval stores.—It is the opinion of the prince that the Squadron of Sir John Norris ought not to winter in the Baltic—Dreads an invasion from Sweden—Insinuates the danger and difficulty of seizing the person of the czar, and securing his troops.

SIR,

Hampton Court, Sunday, September 23—October 4, 1716.

Stanhope
Papers.

YESTERDAY morning I received your private letter of the 25th instant, which I immediately laid before the prince. His royal highness is extremely concerned at the ill turn which affairs in the north are likely to take, and particularly that this should happen at a juncture the most critical that could have been found for doing hurt to his majesty's affairs, as well by checking the regent's eagerness to finish the alliance, as by encouraging the pretender to proceed in those attempts which we are assured he is preparing to make in concert with Sweden. Under so fatal a *contre-temps* his royal highness's greatest satisfaction is, that the treaty with France is in such forwardness as gives room to hope, that the regent will rather choose to go forward, than by retracting what he has done, abandon for ever all hopes of an alliance with his majesty.

His royal highness has considered your letter with all the attention which the importance of its matter requires, and observing that the exigency of the affair you write about, is such as not to admit of any delay, he has thought fit to dispatch an express with his own opinion, and that of such of his majesty's servants as are here at present, which are none but Mr. Methuen, Mr. Walpole, and myself. You will easily believe from the discourse which you may remember passed between you and me upon the czar's being first permitted to bring such a large body before Wismar, that I was not much surpris'd to hear of his proceeding in this manner; and since what we could not then gett believed is now verified by the event, all that remains is to consider what remedy can be provided, which you may depend upon it his royal highness wishes to be as decisive and speedy a one as you can possibly desire; being sensible that slow and gentle methods will in this case work no effect, or worse than none. But the accounts given by lord Polwarth of what has passed between the czar and king of Denmark are so lame and imperfect, that it is impossible for his royal highness to form any certain judgment of the
state

Period II. state of affairs there, and how far the Danes are in a condition to execute the
 1714 to 1720. vigorous measures proposed in your letter. The sentiments therefore which
 1716. his royal highness commands me to transmitt for his majesty's deliberation
 relate chiefly to the consequences which those measures are likely to produce
 with respect to England.

The first and most obvious effect of our breaking with the czar will be his seizing on our merchants with their ships, cargoes and effects (which are undoubtedly of great value), and his prohibiting our commerce to Muscovy, which at this time when we are unable to supply ourselves with navall stores from any other country, certainly deserves the greatest consideration, and so much the more because his royal highness having consulted the most experienced members of the Admiralty and Navy, finds that it is our misfortune at this juncture, by the knavery of the Muscovites in imposing on our merchants last year to have our navall magazines so ill provided with stores, particularly with hemp, that if the fleet of merchant men, now lading in the Baltick, should by any accident miscarry, it will be impossible for his majesty to fitt out any ships of war for the next year, by which means the whole navy of England will be rendered perfectly useles, and the enemies of his majesty's government will be furnished with the most popular topicks of complaint.

His royal highness is also of opinion, that it will above all things be necessary for his majesty's service, that sir John Norris should be at liberty to return with the fleet by the beginning of November at farthest, not only on account of the danger to which the merchantmen would be exposed without his convoy (which yet in our present circumstances is alone sufficient to make his stay impracticable) but because our sea officers are all of opinion that the ships which winter there will certainly be so far damaged by the frosts (which begin usually in November) and by other accidents in those seas, that they will scarce ever be fitt for any other expedition. Besides, they cannot be of any use or service there during the winter season, and our officers are all clear in their opinion, that the Squadron may return thither earlier in the next spring from England, than they can be fitted for action in those parts after the thaw; and even supposing their stay there were practicable, yet the service proposed being either to be performed at a blow or not at all, the event will be decided one way or other before November, after which time the rigour of the season will impose a kind of naturall armistice on all fleets in those seas. I may add, that it will be an unpardonable step here, if at a time when the nation is threatened with an invasion, and finds it-
 self

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

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self in so defenceless a condition as to shipping, such a considerable branch of our naval force should be detained abroad, to the evident detriment of the ships themselves, as well as to the hazard of the men's lives for want of provisions: and what gives the greater weight to this consideration, is, that the king of Sweden (according to the intelligence sent you in several of my letters) is at this time actually treating with the jacobites in order to joyn with the pretender, so that no doubt can be made, but when he sees the descent on Schonen laid aside, and Great Britain embroyled with the czar, he will think himself at liberty to give a full carriere to his passion by pouring a body of forces into England.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.
1716.

However, if his royal highness apprehends these difficulties and ill consequences on the one hand, he is on the other no less deeply affected with a just sense of the imminent danger which these kingdoms as well as the empire are exposed to from the behaviour of the czar, who it is plain intends to make himself master of the whole coast of the Baltick; his royal highness is therefore of opinion that the measures proposed in your letter, or any other, be they never so strong and vigorous, ought rather to be made use of, than that that prince should be suffered to go on, and effect the plan he seems to have formed. But it is thought here, that the execution of what is proposed by Monsieur Bernstorff does entirely depend upon the king of Denmark; neither can his royal highness see how his majesty's immediate assistance can at present contribute to that end; if the czar's troops are to be secured, and his person to be seized, it must be done by the king of Denmark's army alone, and the success of this enterprise must wholly depend on the condition the Danes are in to execute it. His royal highness is therefore of opinion, that his majesty, if he thinks the king of Denmark able to go through with such a project, may insinuate privately and under the greatest secrecy that he will not only acquiesce in his Danish majesty's making this attempt, (if he thinks fitt to undertake it), but that he will also support and assist him in the sequel of this affair when once the blow is given. But his royal highness submits it to his majesty, whether it can be for his service to appear openly at this juncture in an affair of this kind, to the success of which, as I said before, he cannot at present contribute; for if once the stroke is struck at land, and the czar and his troops secured, the Muscovite fleet will be of little or no service, and the Danes will of themselves be more than able to deal with them. However, if this last particular relating to the fleets should not prove true, his royal highness does not see there would be any harm in sending private orders to

Period II. 1714 to 1720. 1716. Sir John Norris, that if after the king of Denmark has secured the czar and his troops at land, the Muscovite fleet should attempt to attack the Danes, he might in such a case declare to the Muscovites, that being sent thither to act defensively in favour of Denmark, he could not by the instructions he brought with him suffer their being attack'd. These orders the Danes may have private notice of, and his royal highness thinks this ought to content them; since the king's taking any further step in their favour would be attended with insuperable difficulties, the least of which might be, that the whole of the war against Sweden as well as Muscovy would be devolved upon his majesty.

These are the sentiments of his royal highness, as well as of those who have the honour to be employed in his majesty's service upon this ticklish and intricate affair, all which his royal highness desires may be entirely submitted to his majesty's judgment and determination. I am, with the greatest truth and affection, yours.

STEPHEN POYNTZ TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Lord Townshend is treated by the prince with particular confidence—laments the situation of affairs in the north.—Enforces the necessity of the king's augmenting his forces in Germany.—Strongly objects to the continuance of the British Squadron in the Baltic.—Recommends a peace with Sweden.

SIR,

Hampton Court, Sept. 25,—October 6, 1716.

Townshend
Papers.

Original
draught.

I Am commanded by my lord to acquaint you, that the prince was so earnest with him to write the enclosed, and has been pleased to use him with such particular confidence of late, that he could not think it for his majesty's service to decline obeying his royal highness's commands in an instance, when they appeared not only highly reasonable but necessary; and he was the easier induced to do this, having lately seen a letter from Hanover, which makes it very probable his majesty will not come over this winter. His lordship thinks, that his writing to you in this manner need put you under no sort of difficulty, since if you do not think it proper to speak to his majesty directly on this subject, you need only write a respectful answer, which he may show the prince, letting his royal highness know your opinion, and assuring him you will take the first convenient opportunity to learn his majesty's pleasure on these particulars.

Last

Last night lord Townshend received your letters of the 29th instant, and is so affected with the melancholy turn which the affairs of the north have taken, that he cannot help troubling you with his private sentiments on that subject. The strong representation which you mention as designed to be made to the czar, his lordship thinks is certainly a right step; but he cannot see how any body can with reason flatter himself, that it will be attended with success. The behaviour of the czar at this juncture is certainly not the effect of any sudden change in him; but the consequence of a plan he has long been forming: of the truth of this, he gave sufficient proof when he married his niece to the duke of Mecklenburgh. He has certainly for some time looked upon Sweden as out of a condition to give him any great disturbance; and he seems to have had no greater apprehension from his majesty as having only Denmark on his side; and being in no condition to oppose his views and measures in Germany.

His lordship wishes he may not have judged right in this particular, but fears if the king does not alter his measures very soon, it will prove too true: the present greatness of the czar being chiefly owing to the king's not caring to be at the expence of having a sufficient number of his own troops to support the figure he ought to have made, and the interest he has in the northern quarrel, as partly to the jealousy that has long prevailed between our court and that of Prussia. If therefore the czar should continue in the resolution he has taken, the only way to prevent the mischiefs so justly apprehended is, in his lordship's opinion, to remove, before it be too late, the cause that first brought on the danger, which must be by the king's resolving to augment his troops to such a number, by raising, or hiring, or both, as shall shew the czar, that his majesty does intend to be master so near home; and at the same time his lordship thinks endeavours should be used to get the court of Prussia at any rate. The very noise of his majesty's raising or hiring 20,000 men now, would do him more credit and service at this time, than the raising 40,000 men a year hence; and though the expence would fall heavy at first; yet his majesty would have means of making himself whole; and even of being a gainer by the credit which such an augmentation would give him towards carrying on his own terms of peace with Sweden; whereas without some such step no man living can foretell what extremities the king may be driven to before a year goes about. Such a resolution would confound the czar's measures, establish the king's interest all over Europe, and keep every thing quiet here; and unless something of this kind be done his

Period II. lordship is afraid you will see the king's affairs here and every where else fall
 1714 to 1720. into very great confusion.

1716.

My lord Townshend perceives by a letter from M. Robethon, that the king is likely to insist on sir John Norris's Squadron being left to winter in the Baltic; and he commands me to acquaint you, that it makes him loose all patience to see what ridiculous expedients they propose to his majesty for extricating themselves out of their present difficulties; as if the leaving you eight men of war to be frozen up for six months would signify five grains towards giving a new turn to the affairs of the north. However if they have had the influence to persuade his majesty, that such a step is absolutely necessary, thus much his lordship thinks he may venture to affirm, that no one can ever bear the weight of such a resolution, without majesty by acting in every part with suitable vigour, will make it plain, that nothing less than the most imminent danger obliged him to provide for his defence in this extraordinary manner. A peace with Sweden, his lordship thinks, would be the shortest way to put an end to all these disturbances; but considering that prince's temper, he very much fears any new project of that kind would, at this juncture be impracticable. I am, &c.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

[Enclosed in the preceding letter.]

Desires in the name of the prince of Wales, to be informed whether the necessary plans for opening the session should begin to be arranged.—Complains of the interference of Robethon.

Hampton Court, Tuesday, September 25—October 6, 1716.

Townshend
Papers.

Privat.

Draught.

YOU will have heard from Mr. Secretary Methuen, that the parliament was prorogued on Tuesday the 18th instant, for one month; but the usual time of the session drawing on, and the business which must be brought in, being such as will take up a great deal of time in preparing and digesting, as well as in being afterwards dispatched in the house; for these reasons, his royal highness thinks it would be for his majesty's service, that he should know as soon as possible, whether it is majesty's pleasure, that he should begin to form the necessary plans, as also at what time the session is to be opened. But as this affair is somewhat of a nice and delicate nature, his royal highness has commanded me to write to you in confidence as to a friend, desiring you to apprise yourself of these particulars at such a time, and in such a manner,

as may give no sort of offence to his majesty, the promoting of whose service is the only view his royal highness has in making this enquiry.

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There is one particular relating to the conduct of Mr. Robethon, which I am obliged to take notice of to you, and which I hope you will endeavour to put a stop to. The Scotch find means of applying to him, and upon his partial representations to the king, he obtains and transmits orders hither, which we, who have the honour to serve here, conceive by no means for his majesty's service. I have had several instances of this, and particularly two by the last post. He gives directions in his letters to count Bothmar to enquire of me how sir James Campbell came not to be turned out of his command in Sterling Castle, and why Mr. Erskine was turned out from being collector of the customs at Inverness. As for the former, his majesty may remember, that upon his shewing me the list of the duke of Argyle's creatures and dependants given him by the duke of Roxburgh, he was pleased to declare, that such of them against whom the want of zeal or skill in their business could not be objected, should keep their places; and upon my assuring his majesty, there was no objection of that kind against sir James Campbell, he was pleased to declare he should be continued in his post at Stirling Castle. As for Mr. Erskine he was removed for being a near relation of Mar's, and one whom several of the Scotch members of parliament affirmed to Mr. Walpole on their own knowledge to be a most notorious jacobite. I am, &c.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Enforces the necessity of the king's presence; but if he continues abroad, recommends the propriety of not deferring too long the opening of the session, which would disgust the prince.—Flourishing state of the revenue and public credit.—Is preparing a scheme for paying off the debt.—Conference with Bothmar on the sale of the lands in the island of St. Christopher's.—Dissuades the king from appropriating the purchase money, and recommends another mode of proceeding.

DEAR SIR,

London, Sept. 28—October 9, 1716.

I Have received the favour of yours of the 19th instant, and am very glad to hear, that our endeavours to render his majesty the best service we are able is graciously accepted by him; and 'tis a further satisfaction for us to find that tho' we have no easy game to play here, we are not entirely unsuccessful; and altho' it may be possible still to carry on the king's business here with

Stanhope
Papers.

Period II. with a constant assiduity, application and carefull management, I must con-
 1714 to 1720. fesse I was infinitely pleas'd with that part of the letter which gave us hopes
 1716. of his majesties coming over to hold the parliament himself. But I cannot but
 be concern'd at your apprehensions upon this point exprels'd in your letter
 to Mr. Poyntz; but in this case next to the want of the king's presence, to
 be kept in doubt and suspense will be the greatest misfortune.

I have gott the prince's leave to goe into the country for a month, to try
 if I can lay in a little stock of health, to enable me to undergoe the winter's
 campaign, and as I may not be in the way to give you my thoughts very
 suddenly again, I shall take the liberty to tell you my sence very plainly.
 If 'tis possible to prevail with the king to come over, no endeavours should
 be wanting to convince his majesty, that 'tis of the last consequence to his
 affairs, and indeed almost of such absolute necessity, that nobody dares to
 answer for successe in this businesse in parliament in his majesties absence; so
 that if there is any hopes of the king's coming over, I think it adviseable to
 defer the meeting of the parliament as long as 'tis possible, which I think
 may be done till after Christmas. But on the other hand, if his majesty is
 determin'd to suffer the prince to hold the parliament, I am of opinion, there
 should be no thoughts of deferring the sessions any longer than the latter end
 of November or beginning of December at furthest. For besides the generall
 inconveniencies of a late session, and the particular prejudices that the public
 suffers in our mony matters, you may depend upon it, the prince will soon
 grow uneasy; and if he once begins to think, that the session is delayed only
 to defeat him of what he so much desires, this will be imputed entirely to us;
 and if he at last holds the parliament, his resentment upon this account, may
 give those that desire to confound the king's affairs such an advantage over
 us, that we shall feel the effects of it thro' the whole session; that 'tis plain to
 me, if the king designs the prince shall hold the parliament, and will thereby
 putt the whole affairs of this winter into his highness's hands and power, it
 should be done in such a manner as may not engage the prince in measures
 opposite to the interest of the king. It is easy to see of what use and service
 it will be, for the king's servants to know his majesties resolutions upon this
 head as soon as may be, that they may begin to form the scheme of the ses-
 sion, and take his majesties pleasure upon the severall heads, before they are
 finally fixed and determin'd with the prince.

The state of his majesties revenue being at present in so good a condition,
 I hope you will excuse me that I give you the trouble of acquainting you in
 general;

general, that the supplies of this year have been so order'd, that altho' there was a deficiency of above 600,000*l.* we shall be able to carry on the subsistence of the army, and all services of the navy that are of absolute necessity till after Christmas, which is chiefly done by postponing the payments of the clearings and off-reckonings, to be made good out of the supplies of next year, and was thus order'd out of a view of delaying the session if it should be found necessary. The branches of the king's civill list have answer'd these last four months beyond all expectations, that the whole civill list upon every branch of it is now clear'd and paid to Lady Day last, and we have at present in the Exchequer of his majesty's civill list mony about 80,000*l.* towards answering the Midsummer quarter, which is a better condition than the civill list has been in for many years, and indeed ever since I had the least knowledge or insight into businesse. The aggregate fund settled for the bank for the additional 120,000*l.* per annum, for the civill list and for the bank annuities at 5*l.* per cent. which scarce produc'd any thing for the first six months has now made itself good, and we have paid one whole year due to each head at this Michaelmas, with a surplus of about 4000*l.* for the growing quarter. The public prints will tell you in what a flourishing condition our credit is, and how high all stocks now are. Give me leave to be so vain as to inform you, that we have not given above 4*l.* per cent. interest upon any of our land or malt tallies, altho' the parliament allowed us 6*l.* per cent. which liberty alone has enabled us to make this saving, that will in the year amount to above 40,000*l.* and so the event has made good my conceit, that seem'd a paradox, that six was lesse than five.

I am now very busy in projecting and forming a scheme for paying the debts of the nation; and I do not despair of being able to propose what shall be effectually for this purpose, in case all things remain quiett, and we have no disturbance nor alarms from abroad.

Count Bothmar upon the receipt of the last packetts desired a conference with me, which was upon the subject of the lands of St. Christopher's yielded to the crown of England by the last treaty of peace with France. He used in his whole discourse the king's name, and said his majesty had by the two last posts sent him orders to receive proposals concerning the disposition of these lands, which he thought proper to consult me about; and desired I would tell him expressly what answer I thought fit to return to the king. It is not possible to give you in the compasse of a letter the substance of so long a conversation; but when I tell you my thoughts and sense of this matter, you will easily

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easily judge what must be the tenour and cheif of our discourse. I do apprehend, that St. Christopher's being a cession to England upon the peace, it will be thought, and some time or other declar'd so in parliament, that it being purchas'd by the blood and treasure of the publick, the nation ought to have the benefitt and advantage of it. This I speak, as the language of such, as will be dispos'd to find fault, and what will perhaps be too much attended to by even the well-meaning country gentlemen. There is no doubt but 'tis in the power of the king to sell or dispose of it, as he shall think fitt; that the only question is about the manner, and the application of the money. I have had this summer two or three different proposalls offer'd to me, which I have allways declined entering into, because I did not know the king's sence and pleasure about it. The highest sum that has been ever yett mention'd to me, was 70,000*l*. I cannot say that more will be given, but it so seldom happens, that the highest price is bid at first, that I make no doubt but the case would be the same here likewise. I understand by count Bothmar, that the king is pretty much determin'd to have the whole produce at his own will and private direction, and what is suggested, to bring this matter immediately into a transaction, is the danger there may be, that the parliament may by some act, or vote, lay their hands upon it, and prevent the king's intentions, as was done in the case of the Farthings. I can only say to this, that whoever should think of meddling with this previously to any thing being done upon it, would sooner fall upon it after it was done in such a manner, as they might apprehend will give a handle to fix a blame or censure upon the king's servants; for I have always observ'd that the love of finding fault is at least as prevalent in our house, as the desire of doing the publick good; and I believe Mr. Lechmere would be more forward in fixing a censure upon your humble servant, than in saving such a sum to the publick. Upon the whole, if his majesty is very intent, that something should be done in this matter, I humbly hope, he will give leave that it may be consider'd in the best manner that is possible; and if he is very desirous to take the benefitt of it to himself, I hope his majesty will be so good as to forgive me, if I give it as my humble opinion, that the surest, and most effectual way to secure such a share or part of it as shall be thought reasonable to his own private disposall, will be by permitting, that a greater part of it should be applied to some use that will appear to be a publick concern, which will still be so entirely under his majesty's direction, that if it is his majesty's pleasure, a reasonable advantage may be in his majesty's power, without any clamour or complaint, which

I am

I am afraid will never otherways be avoided. Suppose for instance, if a plan should be prepar'd for re-building Whitehall, which I think has been before mention'd to his majesty, and part of this be declared as the foundation of that publick work, it would stop the mouths of all reasonable men, and I think it would be possible afterwards to give such a turn to this affair that what should be applied to his majesty's private use might be so order'd as to have the appearance of a saving to the publick. I thought it proper to give you a general view of my conceptions in this affair, that you may learn what it is the king expects, and in relation to the apprehensions of the parliament's being before-hand with us, I will only add one thing, that whenever St. Christopher's comes to be sold, it is not to be suppos'd, but the purchasers will require a considerable time for making the payments of so large a sum, that by the nature of the thing this will be publicly known, before any considerable part of the money will be paid in, and upon such notice; 'tis more probable the parliament will call for an account of it, than whilst it lies asleep, and an addresse of the house of commons will as effectually reach it, if at all, after the contract is made, as before. When I have said this, I hope if any thing happens in parliament upon this subject, contrary to his majesty's wishes, it will not be imputed to me; for I must observe to you there being several persons who have this matter in their view, with a prospect of private advantage, it is to be expected, that the disappointed will find ways to bring this upon the stage, whenever any agreement is made with others.

I send you herewith the warrant for lord Manchester's office, for his majesty's hand, as likewise the grant to lady Mar, &c. pursuant to the power given to his majesty by act of parliament. I believe I have by this time sufficiently tired you, but I write now for a month. Pray believe me, dear Don, with all possible sincerity and friendship, your's for ever, &c.

STEPHEN POYNTZ TO HORACE WALPOLE.

Jacobitism loses ground in the inland and western parts of England.—Wales ripe for rebellion.—Jacobites mix religion with politics.—Tory clergy discontented with these proceedings of the jacobites.

SIR,

Hampton Court, October 5, 1716.

EVERY thing is very quiet in England at present, and jacobitism visibly looses ground in the home countys. But in the western and inland parts and in all Wales the disaffection is as violent as ever and ripe for rebellion.

Walpole
Papers.

Private.

Period II. 1714 to 1720. 1716. The present game of the jacobites is to erect as many meeting houses as they can, and to mix religion with their political quarrels, that they may gain the surer hold on their proselytes. One Spinks has lately been seized who appears to be a bishop, and one of the treasurers of the party, accounts appearing among his papers of above 16,000*l.* distributed among the poor nonjuring parsons, being partly contributions, and partly legacies of the lady Coventry, Dr. South, Nelson, Hickes, &c. The discovery of this formidable schism works a good effect on the tory clergy, who have been so used to lead, that they cannot bear the thoughts of following a poor despicable set of men, who are engrossing the whole name and preferments of the church to themselves; I believe they will rather chuse to stand where they are than venture all they have to be but second in the pretender's favour.

There never was known such a demand for wollen manufacture as at this time.

SECRETARY STANHOPE TO HORACE WALPOLE.

Expresses his satisfaction that the article about Mardyke is settled.—Is alarmed at the affairs of the north.—The king desirous that the treaty with France should be signed without delay.—Separately with du Bois, if the States are not ready.

SIR,

Hanover, October 6, 1716.

Walpole
Papers.

THE letters which came hither this morning by Heywood, the messenger from England, brought us the good news of the settlement of the article about Mardyke. Whereupon it is agreed here that the abbé du Bois shall set out from hence for the Hague, at the same time the king goes to the Goer, which will be on Saturday next, in order to sign the treaty in form with you.

The accounts in your letter of the third instant, which I also received this morning, as also those from other hands about the affairs of the north, you may imagine give the king no small uneasiness; since it is to be feared that matters may come very soon there to an open rupture between the Danes and Muscovites, for which reason his majesty is desirous of giving the finishing stroke to the treaty with France, as soon as possible. And for that purpose has made choice of the first of the three expedients offered by France for the removal of the pretender, which is that the French king obliges himself to remove the pretender beyond the Alps immediately after the signing of the treaty,

treaty, and before the exchange of the ratifications. I must therefore recommend to you by the best means you are able to dispose the pensionary and our other friends in Holland to give the greatest dispatch to our business, that they also may be ready to sign without loss of time. But if you find that the forms of proceeding in Holland will occasion a necessary delay. I desire you will send me your opinion, whether it will not then be the properest course for you to acquaint the pensionary with the reasons his majesty has to get the French tyed down immediately by something under their hand; and for that purpose, that you and the abbé should sign the treaty, but with this express agreement on both sides, that the States are to be admitted into it as parties, as soon as the necessary forms of their proceeding will allow them to come in. I am the more inclined to think this must be the method, because it seems to be incumbent upon us to procure the States General's accession to our treaty with the emperor which ought to be done at the same time they sign the treaty with France. Such a proceeding will be agreeable to the resolution the States had taken of carrying on the two negotiations at the same time, and it would certainly give the court of Vienna a very specious, not to say, a just ground of dissatisfaction, if we should lead the Dutch into a treaty with France, and omitt engaging them to become parties to that which we have signed with the emperor. I desire your opinion therefore without loss of time upon the matter. You must in the mean time ingeniously communicate to the marquis de Prié the substance of our treaty with France, which in my conscience I think is for the emperor's advantage; since England and France do, by not confirming, tacitely rescind whatever was stipulated by the treaty of Utrecht to the emperor's disadvantage, in relation not only to Sicily, but even to the succession of the house of Savoy to the crown of Spain in default of the branch of Anjou. This is not only a subtil inference to be drawn from the words of our treaty; but I can tell you in confidence, that the abbé du Bois has in fact, in all his discourses with me, given up the pretensions of the duke of Savoy to both. And if the court of Vienna is capable of acting reasonably, and of quitting their chimerical pretensions to the crown of Spain, I do verily believe the king may in a little time procure for them very considerable advantages on the side of Italy.

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SECRETARY STANHOPE TO SECRETARY METHUEN.

[Enclosed in the preceding dispatch.]

Expresses the king's satisfaction that the French have consented to the demolition of Mardyke—signs the agreement with du Bois—explains the motives for desiring to hasten the signature of the alliance with France—orders full powers for signing to be forwarded instantly to the ministers at the Hague.

SIR,

Hanover, October 8, 1716.

Walpole
Papers.

I Am commanded by the king to express the satisfaction which he has in learning, that the business of Mardyke is happily concluded in the manner you acquaint me by your letter of the 19th of September last, O: S. Nothing could happen more seasonably for the king's interest; for the affairs of the north have given his majesty of late no small uneasiness; and it was very much to be apprehended, that France taking advantage from thence, might have laid hold on such an occasion not only to break off the negociation, but to have fomented and abetted new disturbances in Britain, to prevent which his majesty thinks no time at all should be lost in fixing the regent, and tying his hands, by this treaty. For this reason his majesty has commanded me to sign with the abbé du Bois the agreement you will find at the head of the inclosed treaty; and in pursuance to the said agreement I have his majesty's commands to send orders to the Hague to sign with the abbé as soon as he shall come thither, in the manner you will find express'd in the convention, at the end of the treaty.

His majesty thinks, that, by the whole treaty and by the said convention at the latter end of it, whereby both parties oblige themselves to make use in concert of all possible offices to accelerate the Dutch signing, so much regard is shewn to Holland, that they cannot possibly take it amiss; and especially since the king is so much concerned, that the pretender should as soon as possible be forced to pass the Alps, which it is become the more necessary to hasten, since by advices from so many parts, his majesty is informed that he is at this time projecting a new invasion. The same consideration hath induced his majesty to accept of the first of the three expedients offered by France, touching his removal, because France will thereby be absolutely tyed down from the minute the treaty shall be signed.

'Tis

'Tis possible that the full powers lodged at the Hague, which probably were calculated for the three powers signing jointly may not be sufficient to authorize the king's ministers to obey the directions I am to send. This I have told the king, whose pleasure it is, that in such case proper powers should be forthwith sent. I have likewise by his majesty's command told the abbé du Bois, that such a thing is possible; to the end he might not be surpris'd or become suspicious of our sincerity, if it should prove so. But I have told him likewise, that I have the king's commands, that proper powers should be sent, if those that now are there should prove defective. I am likewise to acquaint you, that I shall by his majesty's commands and directions send to his ministers at the Hague to use their utmost endeavours, that the states do sign the treaty with the emperor, at the same time they shall sign that with France. Such a proceeding will be very agreeable to the resolution formerly taken by the states of carrying on the two negotiations jointly, and is absolutely necessary on his majesty's side to prevent the umbrages which the court of Vienna might otherwise take with justice. The necessity his majesty apprehends himself to be under to keep those measures with the emperor is another strong motive for our concluding with France; since it would be very imprudent to suffer the removal of the pretender, and fixing the regent, by this treaty, to be delay'd so long as 'tis possible they might, by the difficulty's which may be rais'd during the negotiations for these two treaty's in such a government as Holland.

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SECRETARY STANHOPE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

*Hanoverian ministers press the immediate signature of the treaty with France—
hopes the Dutch will not take it amiss.—Russian affairs begin to wear a better
aspect.*

MY LORD,

Hanover, October 9, 1716.

I Heartily congratulate with your lordship upon the happy conclusion of our French treaty, which with your lordship I do hope will turn very much to the glory and advantage of his majesty, and the quiet and security of his kingdoms. Had it been less advantageous than I think it really is, the situation of affairs in the north made it absolutely necessary to close with France; and such was the impatience of some people, who till within these three weeks were utterly averse to this whole negotiation, and used all possible industry to defeat it, that I assure you I have had much ado for this fortnight last past to withstand the importunity of Monsieur Berenldorf and others who pressed

Townshend
Papers.

Private.

me

Period II. 1714 to 1720. me to frame an article here with the abbé touching Mardyke, and to send him with it to the Hague, with orders to Mr. Walpole to sign it: so apprehensive were they of your delays in England. I did resolutely withstand this: but since your agreement about Mardyke is come, I have by repeated orders from the king, and very earnest solicitations from Mr. Berensdorf been forced to give it the dispatch, which you will see in my letter* to Mr. Methuen. Upon the whole matter I think the Dutch would be to blame if they should take it amiss, especially since the pensionary himself expressed his apprehensions to Mr. Walpole of the northern disturbances.

Inclosed I send your lordship copies of the letters which have passed since this fracas between sir John Norris and me; your lordship will easily conceive what a time I have had; you may perhaps imagine I have been too forward in what I have writ to him, but I can assure your lordship it was not thought so here. I have however the comfort to hope; and our way of proceeding hath certainly determined the czar to imbarck his troops, as you will find he has done by the last letter of sir John Norris: but we are yet far from being at a certainty what course he will steer. What did increase our uneasiness was an advice we received that a minister was dispatched privately from the czar to France; but now that the Muscovites are on ship-board we do hope they will all go at least as far as Poland. As soon as ever this crisis is over, sir John Norris will be at liberty; and I shall repeat the orders already sent him, to have a watchfull eye upon the Swedish ports.

HORACE WALPOLE TO STEPHEN POYNTZ.

Expresses his surprize and dissatisfaction at the conduct of the ministers at Hanover, and censures their alarm and precipitation—requires lord Townshend's opinion how to act in this critical juncture.

DEAR SIR,

Hague, October 10, 1716.

Townshend
Papers.

I Am infinitely obliged to you for your favour of the 25th past; and I dont doubt but the letters which the messenger carries on this occasion from Hannover to England, will bring you an account of the great confusion the affairs of the north are at present in; and how extreamly frightened our ministers at Hannover are; and indeed with very good reason. But I could wish they would not propose things which seem to be impracticable, or if put

The preceding letter.

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in execution would rather increase, than remedy the mischiefs we apprehend. If we are to change our measures here with so much precipitation on every alarm, we shall expose our weakness; and I must own, I shall grow distracted as to my behaviour. I shall endeavour to keep up my spirits as well as I can, and by steadily pursuing what seems to me to be solidly right, I hope to gett thro' these troubles that at present embarrass people's minds. * If we are to have a confidence with France, will it not be necessary to concert with the regent and the states the best measures for quieting the troubles of the north; and to check the growing power, and encroaching temper of the czar? I don't doubt but the states would be glad to concert with us a proper plan for these purposes; and I believe considering the present situation of affairs; and the relation, that the king has to the business of the north, and his engagements as elector; the states must first begin to open the way for pacifying these troubles. You will pardon the trouble of these undigested thoughts, and lett us know as soon as you can lord Townshend's opinion upon this critical conjuncture.

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HORACE WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Objects to sign the separate treaty between England and France with the abbé du Bois, as incompatible with his honour, and contrary to the solemn assurances given to the States that no separate treaty should be concluded without them.
—Requests permission to return to England.

MY LORD,

Hague, October 14, 1716.

YOUR lordship has inclosed a private packet of papers from Mr. secretary Stanhope which he left open for my particular perusal. I am extremely obliged to him for the confidence he shews me thereby, but I am under the greatest concern imaginable for the step he has taken with the abbé du Bois. Were it not done by his majesty's directions, I would venture to say to your lordship alone, that I think it must be extremely prejudicial to the king's interest, and I am afraid must end with a great deal of confusion and uneasiness between us and the States. Your lordship will, without doubt, see a full account of this proceeding in Mr. Stanhope's letter to Mr. secretary Methuen; and therefore I shall not enter into the detail of it. As soon as my lord Cadogan and I had open'd the dispatch to us relating to this matter, and seen the contents of it, his lordship immediately declared he had no full powers that would enable him to sign with the abbé du Bois; of which
your

Townshend
Papers.
Private.

Period II. ^{1714 to 1720.} your lordship easily understands the meaning; and as for myself I really am of opinion that the full powers I have, do not sufficiently authorize me to sign separately with the abbé; they being calculated for negotiating and concluding an alliance between England, France and Holland jointly, which I shall certainly let the abbé know upon his arrival here, and his requiring me to finish this matter with him. But as I find by Mr. secretary Stanhope's letter to lord Cadogan and me, that it is expected we should have full powers dispatched anew for this purpose in case we are not sufficiently authorized, I must have recourse to your lordship's friendship and known affection towards me to desire, that you will entirely get me out of this business; and that if there is no possible remedy against a separate conclusion of the treaty with the abbé, I may not be the person employed in it, which I think in respect to myself, will be the most ignominious part that can be acted; after having repeated so many solemn declarations to the States, that nothing of this nature should be done or finally concluded without them, which I renewed in conference with the deputies yesterday in a most authentick and positive manner. And therefore I must beg your lordship, that if I have any merit as a faithful minister, or any place in your affection as a brother; you will find out some means to prevent my acting a part, that I think, will be infinitely prejudicial to his majesty's affairs, and infamous to the greatest degree in myself, and I shall contentedly retire without the prospect of any business or reward for the future; and amongst the many obligations I have to your lordship, I shall ever think this the greatest. My lord Cadogan being here ambassador in form, I think, strictly speaking, I have nothing to do here. I therefore hope your lordship will make use of this hint, or any other means to deliver me from this unfortunate situation; for I can never bring myself to sign the treaty in the manner proposed.

Since having wrote thus far, I have been again with my lord Cadogan, and found him very ready to do any thing, on account of a letter which he read to me from monsieur Robethon, in which that gentleman tells him that it is his majesty's intention his lordship should facilitate the conclusion of this matter as soon as possible, and therefore it is expected from him. I have likewise since privately and separately seen monsieur Slingelandt and the pensionary; and upon telling the first what has been done at Hanover, he plainly declared to me, that we have given the fatal stroke to the right system of affairs in Europe; that he did not see what good could ensue, or danger be removed by it, at least sufficient to compensate the evils that he apprehends will follow; that
this

this precipitated and separate step without the States, while they have made no alliance with the emperor, and are in no way of coming to a good agreement upon the unexecuted point of the barrier, will destroy the confidence between his majesty and them, and create such a confusion, distraction and jealousy among one another, that he did not know what recourse they might have, or whose hands they might sling themselves into. And as to the pensionary*, it was melancholy to behold the agony and consternation into which this news cast him and he asked me what he should say, when some people in the States would charge him and his friends with having been the dupes in this whole affair? In short, my lord, he had not then time to talk more fully with me; but it is impossible to express the uneasiness I left him in. My lord Cadogan and I are to have a conference with him this afternoon, of which we shall send you the result, by a joint letter. And, it is likely we must desire full powers for signing with the abbé. But as instruments of that nature generally contain a clause for the plenipotentiaries to act separately or jointly, my name may be inserted in the commission; and I, notwithstanding that, and without prejudice to his majesty's service, may make use of such means as your lordship and my brother Walpole shall think proper to afford me of returning into England, without my signing with the abbé du Bois, in case we should be obliged to do it before the States are ready, which, for my part, I never can in honour and conscience agree to do: tho' I should have been extremely proud to have put the last hand to this treaty, could it have been done upon a right foot.

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* Heinsius.

16 October. We detained the Messenger untill we could know the sentiments of our friends upon the directions sent us by Mr. Stanhope, and your lordship will see them at large in our joint dispatch. Is it therefore impossible that their unanswerable arguments, the contrary winds, the usual delays in passing powers under the great seal, or some other excuses that may be proper to be made to the abbé, should prevent our signing with him before the States are ready? If it is impossible, I am extremely sorry for it, but I can never consent to set my hand to that separate act, after having plighted my honour, my faith, and my conscience that nothing of this kind should be done. I must therefore, repeat my instances to your lordship to get me out of this affair, and for that purpose I have writ you the inclosed letter for desiring his royal highness's leave to return home, to which I hope you will be able to send me a favourable answer by the first opportunity, that I may accordingly

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ingly make use of it to get away, in case it is impossible for me by any other way, to avoid signing with the abbé alone, without disobeying his majesty's commands, which as I should look upon it to be the greatest misfortune that can befall me, so I depend upon your lordship's kindness to secure me from it by the method I now propose, or any other you shall think fit; I am with the greatest respect and affection.

Your lordship will pardon the haste and confusion of this letter. I shall likewise in confidence desire Mr. secretary Stanhope to ask the king's leave for my returning home on account of my health.

HORACE WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Desires lord Townshend to obtain from the prince of Wales his permission to return to England on account of his ill health.

MY LORD,

Hague, October 16, 1716.

Townshend
Papers.

I Have been constantly troubled with such an ill state of health ever since I came into this country, that I should some time ago have desired his royal highness's permission to return into England for my recovery; but that I was willing to undergoe any inconveniency rather than make the least step by which I might seem to neglect his majesty's service, while there was no other minister here. But now my lord Cadogan on account of whose absence I was sent hither is returned to his station; I must entreat your lordship to represent my case to his royal highness, that I may obtain his gracious leave to goe immediately home for my releife against the violent returns of the cholick which I am daily more tormented with. I am with the greatest respect imaginable.

HORACE WALPOLE TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Is concerned that he is commanded to sign the treaty with France separately from the States, after the solemn assurances he has given, and expresses his resolution not to sign.

DEAR SIR,

Hague, October 17, 1716.

Harrington
Papers.

Private.

I Return you many thanks for the confidence of your priyate packets to lord Townshend contained in your particular letter to me of the 9th instant; and I am concerned to see by it the dangers you apprehend from the sudden and extraordinary conduct of the czar; but still more, that those apprehen-

prehenfions fhould have preffed his majefly fo far as to engage you to come to an agreement with the abbé du Bois, that my lord Cadogan and I fhould fign with him feperately from the States as foon as he arrives here. You will find by our difpatch, that we have not fufficient powers for that purpofe. I fhall not enter at prefent into the reafons pro and con relating to this matter, which in my opinion may prove a very fatal blow to the intereft of England, and no real advantage to his majefly's affairs even in the north; at leaft not fufficient to balance the inconveniencys of abandoning and difobliging the States for ever. While the Imperial minifters are at the fame time outrageous, and fhew no manner of difpofition either to settle the unexpected points of the barrier, or enter into an alliance with the fates, fo that in a fhort time we fhall fee the utmoft confufion in the Low-Countrys, which I am afraid this precipitated confidence in France will hardly remedy.

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You know that it is my real opinion to conclude this alliance with France; and I do in my confcience think, the doing it in a proper manner with a joint concert and concurrence of our old and fure friends is the moft advantageous thing to Great Britain that was ever yet compaffed; and the nation has infinite obligations to you in having fucceeded fo well in the negotiation with the abbé. But when I faid that, I muft own I am in the greateft agony on account of the laft ftep; and particularly in relation to the part that I have acted: having plighted to the States my faith, my honour, and my confcience in his majefly's name, that nothing of this nature fhould be done, and if I fhould afterwards fign with the abbé in violation of thefe fared and folemn affurances, which I repeated but laft Tuefday in a conference, I fhould never be able to fhew my ignominious head here again. And therefore I plainly fee that this bufinefs in which I thought I fhould have had fome fhare of credit, will end in my ruin: becaufe, altho' I fhall ever think it the laft misfortune to difobey fo good and gracious a fovereign; yet I muft freely confeff I had rather ftarve, nay dye, than doe a thing that gives fuch a terrible wound to my honour and my confcience, and will make me for ever incapable of ferving the king any more, efpecially in this place, where I have at prefent fome little credit and intereft.

If therefore notwithstanding all that the penfionary and our friends here represented, and the fentiments of the minifters in England (who I believe by this time you will have found of a different opinion with you) it is his majefly's command, that the agreement you have made with the abbé fhould be executed, I muft have recourfe to your friendship to gett me out of this

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matter without pushing me to the extremity of not complying with the king's orders, should we receive such powers from England for that purpose. I have therefore wrote the enclosed letter to desire the king's leave to return home for my health, which I leave to your discretion to lay before the king, or to use any other friendly way to deliver me from this violent situation. I have wrote to the same effect to lord Townshend, and I shall only add, that my case is particular; and my not signing can be no prejudice to the king's affairs. For lord Cadogan is readily disposed by a letter he has received from M. Robethon to execute what you desire; being sensible that he has never made the protestations I have made to the States, nor is by no means, as to his own particular, under these sacred ties and engagements that I have bound myself with to them. I must therefore earnestly intreat, that if you have the least kindness for me, to give me your assistance in this matter (for I can never consent to do what is required) and I shall look upon it as the greatest obligation to him, that is with the greatest friendship and affection, and shall ever be, dear sir, yours, &c.

P. S. The abbé du Bois arrived here last night, and would by all means see me, altho' it was 12 o'clock before I came home. I talked alone with him in great confidence, and let him know that my powers were not sufficient, but that we have writt for others. For God's sake give me (I desire you once more) this mark of your friendship, as to prevent me from disobliging the best of kings and masters, if possible. Supposing instead of shewing the inclosed letter for my leave to return to England, you obtained his majesty's consent for me to go to Hanover, to give him a state of affairs here relating to this treaty, and the conduct of the Imperial ministers.

SECRETARY STANHOPE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

The king expresses himself dissatisfied with Walpole, that he has not settled the sums for the payment of the German troops.—Stanhope endeavours to justify Robethon.—And to shew the propriety of counteracting the views of the czar, who seems inclined to obtain possession of Mecklenburgh.

MY LORD,

Goehre, October 16, 1716.

Orford
Papers.

Private.

YOU will see by my other letters the state of things here; all endeavours have been used with Prussia, but hitherto to no purpose. Mr. Bernstorff said to day to one who told it me, that if the king were now in England the exigency of affairs here would make it necessary for him to come over hither.

I must

I must observe to you that as the king is now to make use of the troops of Munster and Saxe Gotha, he told me with some warmth that he has hitherto been obliged to pay them himself, notwithstanding what had been promised him in England, and that he had contracted for them at the request of his council. I must therefore beg of you to press Mr. Walpole to have that matter settled. I have more reason to press this than I care to say to you, but I fear some people do ill offices to Walpole. I am about getting a man sent to Sweden; there is reason to believe that the duke of Mecklenburg has signed a treaty with the czar to give up his country to him in exchange for Livonia and other tracts of country that way. Wismar which is the strongest town and best fortified in Germany is at present garrisoned by six battalions, two of the king's, two Danes, and two Prussians. 'Tis probable the czar will immediately invest that place, and God knows how far we may depend upon either of the auxiliary presidarys; such is the stupidity and knavery of both those courts.

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As for Robethon you know he is naturally impertinent and busying himself, but at present the man does not certainly mean ill, and tho' he did, I do not think it would be proper to complain to the king of him at this time. I will endeavour to give him some advice, and shall, I believe, prevent his doing any hurt.

The sale of land in St. Christopher's or any method of helping in this exigency will be most acceptable. I believe it may not be impossible even to put this northern business in such a light as may induce the parliament not to look upon it with indifference. If I mistake not Cromwell, who understood very well the interest of England with respect to foreign powers, fitted out more than one fleet to the Baltick, with no other view than to secure, that in the treaties of peace to be made betwixt these northern potentates a freedom of trade to the Baltick should be preserved to all nations. He frequently offered considerable sums of money to the king of Sweden for Bremen. The Dutch have likewise heretofore thought themselves very much concerned that a balance of power should be maintained in those seas; I think therefore no time should be lost in trying to concert some measures with them. 'Tis certain that if the czar be left alone three years, he will be absolute master there.

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1714 to 1720.

HORACE WALPOLE TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

1716.

Requests him to obtain permission from the king that he may return to England, and avoid signing the treaty with France separately from the States, after the solemn assurances he has given that no such design was in agitation.

DEAR SIR,

Hague, October 20, 1716.

Harrington
Papers.

Private.

YOU will see by the letters the messenger brings you from England the sentiments of your friends upon his majesty's intentions that we should sign the treaty with the abbé without the states, notwithstanding which it being possible on account of the agreement you have sign'd with that minister, that the king's orders may be renewed to us on that head, I must earnestly repeat my instances to you, that you will use your utmost credit and interest with his majesty to give me leave to return immediately into England, that I may have some pretext for not doing, what no consideration whatsoever can dispose me to after the solemn engagements I am under both publicly and privately to the States and their ministers here, that nothing of this kind should be done; and I have by that means and upon that condition kept them from embroiling your negotiation at 'Hannover. I do not pretend to make myself a judge of his majesty's reasons for what you have done, and I should have thought myself obliged in duty to obey them without the least hesitation, were I not under these unfortunate circumstances of sacrificing by such an act my honour and every thing that I think is really valuable. My lord Cadogan is sensible that his case is not the same with mine, and therefore, if his majesty persists in his resolution I dare say he will be ready to submit to his royal pleasure; and as all full powers to two ministers contain a clause for their acting jointly or separately, his majesty's commands may be executed without my concurring in it, which I can never do. For I shall look upon it no better than declaring myself a villain under my own hand; and I shall therefore be for ever obliged to you if you can gett me safely out of this business. I hope I have had the happiness of living so long so well with you, that I may expect the favour to save me if possible from his majesty's displeasure: but I am resolved at all hazards to preserve that which no human power can take from me; I am with the greatest respect and affection, &c.

HORACE

HORACE WALFOLE TO STEPHEN POYNTZ.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.

Expresses his earnest hope that permission of returning to England may be granted, as the only means of honourably getting out of his present dilemma; and positively declares that he will sacrifice his fortune and even life, rather than sign the separate treaty with France.—Censures the measures in regard to Mecklenburgh.

1716.

DEAR SIR,

Hague, October 20, 1716.

Townshend
Papers.

YOU will perhaps have seen by my private letter of last post to lord Townshend the distraction I am in on account of the orders we have received from Hannover to sign with the abbé du Bois as soon as we have sufficient powers to do it, and I'm afraid that notwithstanding his royal highness's and the opinion of the ministry in England, the agreement Mr. Stanhope has made with the abbé will dispose the king to renew his orders to us to execute his commands. I therefore hope I shall by the first post, or at least as soon as the full powers come from England, receive the prince's gracious permission to return home pursuant to a letter I wrote to lord Townshend for that purpose; that I may have a pretext to gett out of this violent dilemma, either of disobliging the king, or of acting a part that I really think will render me infamous for ever; and as my not signing can be no prejudice to his majesty's affairs, since my lord Cadogan will be sufficiently authorised, and is not in my unfortunate circumstances, having never made the protestations I have done both publicly and in private. I hope a favourable interpretation will be put upon my actions, and that my lord Townshend will, if no other way can gett me home, open the matter in the most tender manner to the prince for his indulgence; for I must ingenuously confess to you that no consideration whatsoever can make me comply. I will willingly give up my present and all future advantages; I will lay my patent of reversion in the West Indies, nay, even my life at his majesty's feet sooner than be guilty of an action which in me would be such a one as I cannot name. I have wrote again to Mr. secretary Stanhope to the same purpose, and have earnestly desired his and lord Sunderland's favour and protection to obtain the king's leave for my going home. Lord Cadogan is so sensible of the hardship I am under on this occasion, that he has wrote to lord Sunderland in the handsomest manner in my favour, for which I shall ever think myself obliged to him. My humble respects to lord Townshend, with my repeated instances to him to give me this last mark of his affection by sending

Period II. sending for me home. I am under so great a concern, untill the fate of this
 1714 to 1720. matter is over, that it is impossible for me to think of any thing else, soe that
 1716. I must acknowledge by you the favour of his lordship's letter of the 5th
 inst. O. S. and send by you my affectionate congratulations to his lordship
 upon my fister's being so happily deliver'd of a son. I am, with the greatest
 sincerity, &c.

P. S. October 21. Lord Cadogan and I having been in conference
 yesterday with the Imperial ministers from six in the afternoon till twelve at
 night, had not time to dispatch our letters till this morning, when a messenger
 arrived from Hannover with repeated orders to us to sign with the abbé, and
 the only reason that I find for it is, least the czar should become master of
 the nobility of Mecklenbourg. I can't for my life see the connection between
 our immediate signing and that affair, or why the whole system of affairs in
 Europe, especially in relation to the interest of England, must be entirely
 subverted on account of Mecklenbourg. God knows what will be the con-
 sequence of such politicks; but I lay that aside; being sensible that it is not
 for me to judge of his majesty's reasons for these proceedings; and that I
 am in duty bound to execute his commands, which I would readily doe, were
 I not under such solemn engagements to the contrary in this case, that my
 honour and conscience can never dispense with.

STEPHEN POYNTZ TO HORACE WALPOLE.

*The prince of Wales and lord Townshend acknowledge the inconvenience of
 signing the separate treaty with France without the States, yet the prince
 cannot venture to grant permission to return.—Lord Townshend hopes that
 the necessary delays in preparing and forwarding the full powers will enable
 the States to sign at the same time.—Objects to his removing from the Hague,
 but thinks that he may find excuses for not signing.*

SIR,

Hampton Court, October 9—20, 1716.

Walpole
Papers.

MY lord Townshend being very busy has commanded me to acknowledge
 your private letters of the 14th and 16th October. You will have seen
 by his lordship's late dispatches, that the prince as well as he is entirely of
 your opinion as to the inconveniencys that are to be apprehended from
 signing this treaty seperately; and his lordship owns, if it were his own case, he
 should be under pretty much the same difficulties as you, but he thinks you
 cannot well decline the king's positive commands, at least no relief is to be
 obtained

obtained against them from hence, neither does it depend on his royal highness to permit you to come over for the recovery of your health. But Period II.
1714 to 1720.
1716. considering that the necessary forms of preparing the instrument of your full powers, cannot be got over till Friday or Saturday next, after which the winds may detain it on this side the water for some days longer, his lordship hopes that you will not be putt under the difficulty you apprehend, but on the contrary that the pressing instances of the king, as they owe their rise to the exigency of the northern affairs, and not to any design of flighting the States, will have the good effect to bear down the tedious formalities of their government, and to bring the States to sign at the same time with lord Cadogan and you. The full powers will run *conjunctim vel seperatim*, so that if you think it absolutely necessary to decline signing, you may find excuses without removing from the Hague, which would make too much eclat, and might do you great disservice with his majesty as well as some with the prince, whose good graces you certainly possess at present.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Sends intercepted correspondence from count Gyllenburg, proving the intentions of the king of Sweden to invade England.—Regrets that the king will not attempt to procure the stadtholdership for himself.

SIR,

Hampton Court, Friday, October 12—23, 1716.

I Am very glad to see by yours of the 12th instant, N. S. that the abbé du Bois received so well the insinuations you made him in relation to the affairs of the north.

Stanhope
Papers.Private.

You will find the inclosed letters very curious; that from count Gyllenburg to baron Gortz is decyphered, but there has not been time enough to gett the baron's answer decyphered here; our man says it is a new cypher, and if you can gett it decyphered, I beg you would send me a copy of it. You will see in count Gyllenberg's letter, his notions of the regent and of the part he is likely to take in the affairs of the north; what he says of the king's being to make France for the future of the same use with regard to the empire, that Sweden has been ever since the treaty of Munster, is so ridiculous that nothing but his passion and his malice to the king could make him suggest such nonsense. The latter part of his letter confirms all we have ever suspected as to his corresponding with the disaffected here, and his saying

Period II. ^{1714 to 1720.} that money will not be wanting to compleat his scheme, shews plainly, that he has had large offers from the party, and that they are determined to try once more their fortune if the king of Sweden will assist them with troops. Count Gyllenberg has passed most of this summer with Cesar, a creature of lord Oxford's, in Hertfordshire. How far the king of Sweden will engage in these schemes time only can discover; but the weak and low condition to which the Danes are reduced, and the present views and behaviour of the czar may, for ought I know, make him think that he has now an opportunity of indulging what seems to be his darling passion, revenge upon the king; and for my own part I must freely own to you, that I think the unfortunate turn the northern affairs have taken, has putt the king under some difficulties at home, as well as very great ones abroad. For the czar's behaviour has made all measures which might have been taken towards farther reducing the king of Sweden dangerous and almost impracticable; so that the king will be obliged to guard equally against the views of both, which cannot in my poor opinion be done, but by making such an augmentation of his troops in Germany as may lett the czar see he intends to maintain that authority and influence he ought to have in the north. Such a step would revive and hearten Denmark, and secure the king of Prussia (who as I am certainly informed leans to the czar only through fear) and consequently make the king once more master of affairs in those parts, provided such precautions are taken at the same time in England as may shew the king of Sweden that any attempt upon this country must end in his confusion.

Mr. Walpole sent me the same intelligence as he did to you in relation to the choice of a stadtholder, and I am very much concerned to find by your letter that his majesty will not think of procuring that dignity for himself. I am however of opinion there will as yet be no occasion for his majesty's coming to a positive resolution on that head; the best advices I can get from Holland assuring me, that the best intentioned and leading members of the States, and even some who are thought to favour in general the office of stadtholder, do not think this a remedy proper to be proposed at this time, but on the contrary have drawn up a plan by which they hope more effectually to obviate the disorders and confusions they now labour under, than they could even by the choice of a stadtholder at this juncture; so that were his majesty inclined to undertake the procuring that dignity to himself, this would be by no means a proper opportunity to attempt it; for the States will
not

not, I am persuaded, be brought to choose a stadtholder till their affairs are come to greater extremities, and till they find other schemes and experiments ineffectuall.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.
1716.

My brother Walpole being in Norfolk I cannot send you his opinion as to the possibility of finding a sum for this service; but the revenue in England consisting as you know but of two branches, one of which, the parliamentary subsidies, is wholly appropriated to particular services, this matter lies within a very narrow compass, and I fear whenever any attempt of this kind is to be made, the money must come out of the civil list. I have already by his royal highness's commands sent instructions to Mr. Walpole at the Hague to do all he can to hinder the prince of Hesse from being advanced to that dignity, and I am persuaded he will find no great difficulty in defeating that attempt, should that prince's friends think fit to try their strength, which I can scarce imagine they will at present.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Justifies the conduct of Walpole in not venturing to appropriate any sum for the payment of the German troops.—Expresses his concern that both himself and Walpole are exposed to evil suggestions.—Mentions their services, and hints at his resignation.—Boasts of the good effects which already result from the alliance with France.—Objects to the prosecution of the contest with Russia.—Is of opinion that the parliament will never approve it.—Imputes Bothmar's malicious insinuations to the rage of disappointed avarice.

SIR,

Hampton Court, Tuesday, October 16—27, 1716.

I Have received the favour of your private letter of the 16th inst. N. S. and am sorry to find his majesty should have spoken to you with some warmth concerning the payment of the Munster and Saxe Gotha troops. My brother Walpole is at present in Norfolk, so that I cannot send you his thoughts as to the practicableness of finding some expedient for paying those troops before a parliamentary provision is made for them; but being able to charge my own memory with the particular circumstances which have hitherto hindered that payment, I must beg leave to give you a short deduction of that matter, leaving it to you to trouble his majesty with as much or as little of it as you shall think proper.

Orford and
Harrington
Papers.
Private.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.

1716.

You must, I am persuaded, remember as well as I, that upon the pretender's landing in Scotland, no one imagining he would have engaged in such an undertaking without foreign assistance, the parliament gave the king unlimited power to raise what number of men he should think fit for the defence of the kingdom, and farther the lords of the Cabinet Council, his majesty being present, did unanimously advise and desire him to secure and take into his service a body of troops from abroad, and orders were accordingly given to the king's German ministers to hire the troops above-mentioned. The precipitate retreat of the pretender having afterwards made it unnecessary for his majesty to increase the number of troops within the kingdom as intended, and it being thereupon judged adviseable for his majesty to mention to the parliament this instance of the good use made of the trust reposed in him, it was thought very inconsistent after such a step to retain a body of foreign forces in pay; accordingly orders were given for stopping the conventions with Munster and Saxe Gotha, in case they were not finally concluded. But those orders coming too late, it happened that the treaties were (according to the report of Messrs. Bernstorff and Bothmar) actually signed; however we were assured that in consideration of the troops not being made use of, endeavours should be used to gett a new convention, by which part of the charge should be mitigated, which convention I am told has since been perfected. These first treaties did not come over till late in the session, while my brother Walpole lay so ill that his life was despaired of, and as soon as ever he recovered Messrs. Bernsdorf and Bothmar and I had a conference with him about settling this affair in order to the laying the said treaties before the parliament that the necessary provision might be made for this service. But upon perusal of the papers brought us by Messrs. Bernsdorf and Bothmar we found they were only copys of the treaties, and that the originals were not sent over. This made it impracticable to have them laid before the house of commons, to whom either the original conventions or authentick copies attested by one of the secretaries of state must always be produced; besides which, one of these conventions was drawn in such loose terms as seem'd to imply that if the troops were not demanded within a certain time, the agreement was void, which however Messrs. Bernsdorf and Bothmar assured us was not the intent and meaning of it. For these reasons it was judged improper to bring this matter before the parliament at that time for fear the want of an authentick instrument, and the loose wording of the treaty should have given a handle for putting a negative on this demand, and thereby

thereby have precluded us from ever bringing it into the house again; and it was agreed to defer moving that matter till the new conventions could be finished, and authentick acts of them be got ready to lay before the parliament, which conventions were not perfected and sent hither till since the end of the session. So that the soonest this money can be paid in a regular way will be some time after the opening of the next session; but if it is the king's pleasure some extraordinary method should be found out for furnishing this sum immediately, I own freely to you, were I in Mr. Walpole's case, I should expect his majesty's commands for laying that matter at least before the Cabinet Council; it being in my opinion too great a weight for Mr. Walpole to take upon himself.

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1716.

In the mean time it is a very melancholy reflection, that our best endeavours for his majesty's service are liable to be thus interpreted; and I am sorry I have this occasion to be confirmed in my opinion, that no services which Mr. Walpole, or you, or I, can ever render to his majesty, will be sufficient to screen and support us against the false and malicious suggestions of our enemies. The success with which our endeavours have hitherto been crowned is such, as it would look like vanity even to mention, and since the only aim of my ambition and the reward of all my labours is now attained by seeing his majesty firmly seated in the throne; I can struggle no longer against the difficulties which our enemies about the king create us every day, and shall therefore most earnestly beg leave to resign my employment and to retire into the country as soon as the king returns, and his majesty may depend upon my not behaving myself in the manner others have done after quitting his service. But I shall, I hope, by the steadiness of my conduct, and by doing the duties of a good subject in a private station, efface those ill impressions which have been given him of me.

The good effects which already begin to appear from the prospect of a treaty with France will, I hope, convince every body, that I was not mistaken in my notions with regard to that alliance; the present situation of his majesty's affairs here being more prosperous than the most sanguine of his servants could have expected or imagined, and the publick credit is higher than ever was known. By which means an opportunity may certainly be taken in parliament this winter of reducing all public interest to 5 per cent. whereby a fund will be gained out of the present interest of near 800,000*l.* per ann. towards sinking the debt, which sum well managed will in a small number of years clear all we owe; and this may be done without the least breach of faith

Period II. 1714 to 1720.
 1716. faith or publick credit, or burthening the people with any new tax, provided nothing intervenes that may bring a disreputation on his majesty's administration, or that shall look like engaging the nation in a new war.

The miserable and distracted condition into which the northern affairs are plunged gives the discontented and enemies of the king's government hopes, that they may be able to raise some disturbances in parliament on that head, which they flatter themselves may be managed so as to affect the king's affairs in general; and indeed I cannot but own their expectations in this particular to be better founded and their schemes more wisely laid than they use to be. You will see by the intercepted letters the part count Gillenberg is to take in this scene; Mr. Lechmere and some other whigs, as I am credibly informed, are to take their share; and your humble servant, and yourself, are personally to suffer in this attack, *tho' God knows we have had no direction in all this northern quarrell.* However be that as it will, whilst we carry a musket, we must do our duty without murmur or complaint; and that we may do it in the best manner for the king's service, I must beg leave to say a word or two to you upon that part of your letter, where you say you do not think it impossible even to set this northern business in such a light, as may induce the parliament not to look on it with indifference; and you alledge the expence England was in at Cromwell's time, in fitting out a fleet for preserving the balance of the north.

I perfectly agree with you, that England as well as the rest of Europe, ever had and always must have a great interest in the preservation of the ballance of the north, and yet I cannot help being of opinion, that if the northern affairs were brought into parliament by his majesty's order upon the foot they now stand, his majesty would be so far from obtaining any assistance on that head, that there would be great danger from such a step of ruining his credit and influence in both houses. The arguments for maintaining a ballance in the north will be turned against all that has been doing ever since the siege of Stralsund; and they will tell us, I fear, that had the intended descent succeeded in the way, and with the troops designed for that expedition, the balance of the north had been effectually ruined, and the czar made master of all the trade of the Baltick. And I do not remember that I ever was furnished with any other answers to what may be said on this subject, among all the wise reasonings you and I have heard, but that the czar's son is a mere Muscovite, and is to ruin all his father has done in a very little while after the czar's death, who to make the scheme a little more tolerable was also

also supposed to be in a very languishing condition. But the scene being since a great deal changed, I suppose by supporting the balance of the north, it is now meant both against the czar and Sweden; and I doubt very much whether any scheme of that kind can be displayed in such colours as to invite the parliament to engage in it. For besides the difficulties our trade must lie under, should we actually break with the czar, the expence necessary to support such a scheme will be an insuperable reason with the parliament never to come into it. The expecting therefore any money from the parliament towards carrying on that war is a mere delusion, and can end in nothing but breaking the king's friends amongst themselves, ruining the publick credit, and preventing us from getting into a method of paying the nation's debts. Could indeed the States and the regent or court of Vienna be prevailed upon to form in concert with his majesty a plan or project of a peace for the north, and at the same time to enter into measures with his majesty to force the contending parties to accept of the terms so offered, the parliament might upon such a foundation give something towards enabling the king to pay his proportion of the expence; but the States have hitherto been so averse from meddling in those affairs, that I fear there is little hopes of their engaging in them at present.

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1714 to 1716.
1716.

I find all the king's servants here are of opinion that the most we can expect from the parliament this session is two shillings in the pound, and the malt, which together make one million and a half; with this, allowing for 10,000 seamen, we may I believe keep near 20,000 land forces, so that you see upon this foot the utmost assistance that is to be expected from hence as to the affairs of the north, is a squadron of ships. I am, &c.

P. S. I am very sure that all these malicious insinuations to Walpole's and our prejudice arise from Bothmar, who has every day some infamous project or other on foot to get money; and his disappointments in these particulars are what he cannot bear, having nothing in his view but raising a vast estate to himself; and therefore he will never be satisfied till he has got the Ministry and Treasury into such hands as will satiate his avarice, at the expence of the king's credit, interest and service.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

1716.

*Praises Secretary Stanhope.—The northern affairs seem in a better train.—
Hints at the good effects of the king's return.*

MY LORD,

Gohre, October 26, N. S. 1716.

Townshend
Papers.

YOUR lordship will receive by this courier, from Mr. Stanhope, copies of the abbé du Bois's letters to him, and of the orders the king has sent to his ministers at the Hague; they are the only ones could be given on this occasion and which must bring this affair to a conclusion, either by the signing the treaty, or obliging the French to shew the whole world, that it's they that break, and not the king. Mr. Stanhope has managed this business with the utmost pains and dexterity, and has brought it so far to bear, that which ever way it turns the king must be the gainer. The affairs of the czar, seem to take a better turn, which will very much conduce towards that which all honest men wish, the king's return to England, which is of so vast importance to the being of the king's government, that whither it be some weeks sooner, or later is of final consideration, to the main thing of his return, though no doubt the sooner it is the better. I am ever, with great truth and respect.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

States the opinion of the lords of the council on the best means to prevent an invasion from Sweden, and to co-operate with the czar.—Mentions the heads of business to be laid before parliament, and submits to the king, if he continues at Hanover, the propriety of investing the prince of Wales with discretionary power.—Horace Walpole appointed by the prince to convey this dispatch for the explanation of the points therein specified.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, Nov. 2, 1716.

Townshend
Papers.

Draught.

HIS royal highness being returned from Hampton Court on Saturday last, and several of the lords being come to town, Mr. secretary Methuen and I had by his royal highness's command a meeting on Sunday at the duke of Devonshires with my lord chancellor, the dukes of Devonshire and Bolton, lord Orford, and lord Parker, to consider, pursuant to the king's orders, what heads of business might be proper and necessary to be laid before the parliament, in order to transmit the same to his majesty for his approbation. We began by communicating to them the enclosed copies of intercepted correspondence

fpondence between the Sweedish ministers, some pieces of which, that are very materiall, you have not yet seen; and upon mature confideration of the contents of those letters, of the present disposition of the king of Sweden, and of the disunion which prevails among the northern allies, the lords were all unanimously of opinion, that it is of the utmost consequence to the safety of the nation, that all possible precautions should be taken both at Hanover and in England, to put it out of the power of Sweden to execute the design framed by count Gyllenborg and the jacobites. As to what can be done abroad towards diverting the Sweedish forces, and finding them full employment in their own country, nothing appears to the lords more effectually and desirable for that purpose, than closing with the proposal lately made by the czar, transmitted hither by sir John Norris, and mentioned in your letter of the 31st of October, for making a descent from Finland next spring, which, especially if seconded by a descent on Schonen at the same time, will in the opinion of the lords give the king of Sweden his hands full of business, and put him out of a condition to spare any forces towards supporting the cause of the pretender. For which reason, they think his majesty will be justified to all mankind, if in order to avert this blow, and to rescue his kingdoms from the visible danger to which at present they stand exposed, he engages immediately to send into the Baltick next year a squadron of men of war sufficient to cover the projected descent from Finland; the said squadron being insisted on by the czar as a condition necessary to render that attempt practicable. The lords are indeed unanimously of opinion, that considering the obstinacy and inveteracy of the king of Sweden, the poverty and weakness of the court of Denmark, the treachery and corruption of Prussia, and the little probability there is of any cordial and effectual assistance from the emperor at this juncture; there is scarce any prospect left of the king's extricating himself out of the difficulties into which northern affairs have plunged him, without coming to a better understanding with the czar: and since that prince has already gained such footing as makes it impossible for the king at this time to force him to such terms as might perhaps be most for the interest and peace of the empire, they are humbly of opinion, that his majesty's service requires, that the czar should at this juncture rather be indulged in some particulars than irritated to such a degree, as may tempt him to throw himself entirely into the notions and schemes of the court of Prussia, and perhaps of that of France. It is therefore their humble opinion that all gentle methods should be employed towards persuading him to pursue vigorously his views against Sweden, and such encouragement given

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Period II. him, as the present situation of his majesty's affairs here will admitt of, which
 1714 to 1720. certainly require the sending a squadron to the Baltick the next year. As to
 1716. the continuing a detachment of the present squadron in those seas during the
 winter, his royal highness having referred that propofal to the admiralty, has
 received from them the inclosed report, by which you will see the lords of the
 admiralty are of opinion, that a detachment wintering in the Baltick will ruin
 the ships without being of service to his majesty's affairs.

The lords having considered in the next place the precautions necessary to be taken in England upon the present prospect of affairs, are of opinion, that the whole force both at sea and land, which is now on foot, should for the present be kept up. But the nation is so sett upon reducing the forces, and upon easing themselves of the burthen of taxes, that it is feared the parliament will not easily be brought to continue the whole force now on foot, or to grant more than two shillings in the pound and the malt; and therefore the lords desire to receive his majesty's particular sentiments and directions on this important affair, and beg leave to offer it as their humble opinion, that if his majesty cannot be here in person, it will be absolutely necessary for his service, that he would be pleased to give a discretionary power to his royal highness, and to those who have the honour of serving his majesty here to conduct this matter in parliament in such manner, as they shall think most proper for bringing it to a happy issue. It being as much impossible to foresee what may arise in either house on a question of this nature, as it will be to wait his majesty's particular instructions from Hanover, upon every sudden incident which may be thrown in the way to obstruct his majesty's service.

The other heads of business, which the lords had under their deliberation, and which they think absolutely necessary to be brought before the parliament this session, were, the putting the public debts in a method of payment, the asserting and strengthening the supremacy of the crown over the clergy, and the better regulating of the universities, lord Oxford's trial and a generall act of indemnity. As to the putting the public debts in some method of payment they look upon it as necessary to the very being of the nation; and Mr. Walpole has a scheme to offer for this purpose, which he flatters himself will give univerfall satisfaction, but he being not yet returned out of the country, we could not enter into the detail of that particular.

The archbishop has desired, that he and some of the bishops may have a meeting with the lord chancellor and some other lords to prepare heads of a bill for asserting the supremacy, and for better regulating the clergy and the two univer-

universities. With respect to lord Oxford's trial, the lords are of opinion, that the charge of high treason should be dropped, it being very certain that there is not sufficient evidence to convict him of that crime, but that he should be pushed with all possible vigour upon the point of misdemeanour, without which, it is certain that the best intentioned of his majesty's subjects will be so broken and disunited, as not to be able to carry on the publick service any more this parliament. The act of indemnity, their lordships all agree to be absolutely necessary for quieting and composing the minds of the nation, and they think the properest time for bringing it in will be towards the close of the session.

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1716.

The last thing their lordships had under consideration was, what time it would be proper for the parliament to meet to do business. They humbly conceive that the sooner this can be, the better, and that the utmost limit to which the opening of the session can conveniently be defer'd, will be to the end of the Christmas's holydays; all which they desire may be entirely submitted to his majesty's consideration; and they make bold to repeat it as their humble opinion, that in the conducting so many important affairs through the difficulties incident to all popular assemblies, and more particularly increased by the unhappy divisions under which this nation labours, it will be impossible for them to succeed or even to carry on the session without frequent and long interruptions, unless his majesty thinks proper to trust his royal highness with a discretionary power to which they may have recourse for extricating the service out of unforeseen difficulties, and for accommodating their conduct from time to time to the several variations of circumstances that may arise, which can hardly be communicated, much less be provided for at a distance. It being thought necessary to pitch upon somebody to carry this dispatch, who might be able explain any of the points contained in it, his royal highness has been pleased to appoint Mr. Horace Walpole, who was therefore present at the meeting of the lords, that he might by hearing what passed, be enabled to give his majesty the most exact information of the sentiments of his servants on the present state of affairs.

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1714 to 1720.

1716.

SECRETARY STANHOPE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Affures him of the king's attachment.—Seems to censure Walpole for not performing his promise made to the king.—Expresses himself dissatisfied with his own continuance in office.

MY LORD,

Gochrde, November 6, 1716.

Townshend
Papers.

Private.

I Am to acknowledge the honour of your letter of the 12th and 16th of October. I do not yet know whether baron Gortz's letter will be decyphered, but if it be, I will not fail to send you a copy of it. I think there is no reason to doubt from the king of Sweden's temper, but that he may be prevailed upon to undertake any thing. I have laid before his majesty all these intercepted letters, and have communicated to him good part of the contents of both your lordship's of the dates above-mentioned. I think the latter of them is come very seasonably; for the king being upon the point to take his final resolution touching his holding the session of parliament in person or not; it hath given me an opportunity to shew his majesty, that his servants in England did not think it possible to carry those things in parliament, which seem absolutely necessary, unless countenanced and supported by his presence. I very believe this will determine him to take the resolution we all wish, and that his presence will enable us to deal with Mr. Lechmere and his followers. It was never imagined, that any supply should be asked of the parliament, immediately, on account of the northern affairs: but it will certainly become the parliament to address the king to form in concert with such other powers, as your lordship names, such alliances, in order to force a good peace there, as shall be judged necessary, and to promise the parliament's support for such engagements; otherwise I know not what minister can make a step with safety towards forming any plan. Whether the disbanding forces, while these matters are pending, will enable the king to treat with advantage, I beg may be considered.

* Victor
Amadeus.

Since my last to your lordship, I have had two conferences with general Schulemburgh, the king of Sicily's* minister, by whom I perceive that his master will think himself very happy, if the king can secure his peace with the emperor at the expence of Sicily: so that we may boldly offer Sicily to the emperor, and may, I hope, secure his assistance for these northern affairs, which I must own have, in my opinion, so near a connexion with England, that I think we must look after them. If a small part of the money, which will accrue by the re-
duction

duction of interest, should for one year or two, be employed to settle things in the north, so as that neither our trade nor indeed our country should have any attempt to fear from thence; I cannot but think this parliament will very readily come into it, especially, after the great things that have been done, and the care they will see hath been taken to secure them against a war with France, which is the only power that can endanger us or occasion a great expence.

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1716.

I have represented therefore to the king, the sentiments expressed in your letter on this head, as proceeding from the apprehensions you were under of difficulties, in case his majesty should not come in person to give life and vigour to all his business. You may imagine I said nothing of that part of your letter where you talked of laying down: for if you knew how thoroughly well the king thinks of your lordship, and how often he upon all occasions expresses it, I am sure you would not have said it yourself. It is very likely that Bothmar may have done ill offices to Mr. Walpole: but the king upon that subject tells me, that he spoke himself with Mr. Walpole about it before he left England. It is very possible the king and Mr. Walpole might mistake one another. But the king says, he did apprehend, that Mr. Walpole had told him a way would be found to pay that money: he says he hath in fact advanced the money. I do therefore beg, that Mr. Walpole and you will think of this matter. If it be necessary that I write a letter to be laid before the cabinet council, let him tell me in what manner he would have me write, and I will immediately send a letter, if he would have it, and do every thing that he and you will let me know of for your service. The concern I have for him makes me wish most earnestly, that he will find some way to make this matter easy, which may, and will otherwise, give his enemies an opportunity of hurting him. I am sure I have staid in this office much longer than I would have done, for your sake and his; and whenever we are to go out of place, let it not be upon such a foot, that the king shall say Mr. Walpole hath promised such a thing, and that Mr. Walpole shall say otherwise. I vent my thoughts very freely to you, and will do so, while I am in business. You will easily believe me, when I tell you, that considering the present situation I am in, I do not wish that may be long. In all states and conditions I shall ever be, &c.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.

SECRETARY STANHOPE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

1716.

Severely censures the conduct of lord Townshend, and accuses him of purposely delaying, from motives of jealousy, the signature of the treaty with France.—Requested the king's permission to resign the seals.—Desires lord Townshend to explain his conduct, and to write in French, that the king may read the original.

MY LORD,

Goehre, November 11, 1716.

Harrington
Papers.

A few words
illegible.

J'AY été très surpris par plus d'une raison d'apprendre par la dépêche de my lord Cadogan du 5^{me}. de Nov. le nouvel incident qui arrête à present la signature du traité à la Haye, outre l'inquietude que nous peut causer l'apprehension de quelque mauvaise foi du côté de la France, je vous avoueray que je suis inquiet pour une raison qui me touche de plus pres. La forme nouvelle du plein pouvoir, que l'on a envoyé à my lord Cadogan me fait croire, que ce n'est pas sans dessein que l'on s'est écarté de la route commune, et des formes constamment usitées en dressant des pleins pouvoirs pour les traités particuliers, que l'on a en vue. Dans votre lettre du 28^{me}. de Sept. écrite à la verité avant que je vous eusse fait part de ma signature par ordre du roy avec M. l'abbé du Bois vous déconseillez la signature avec la France * * * * *. Dans cette même lettre vous marquiez que le plein pouvoir qu'avoit M. Walpole étoit suffisant pour l'autorizer à signer. Dans une lettre du 2 d'Oct. vous reconnoissez que les pouvoirs qu'avoit M. Walpole n'étoient point suffisants. Cette variation, et le delay qui s'est ensuivi d'envoyer un autre plein pouvoir, la conduite de M. Walpole dans cette affaire, l'affectation d'éviter dans ce nouveau plein pouvoir d'y mettre quoyque ce soit, qui puisse paroître avoir la moindre relation au traité en question, le desaveu qui semble être intimé dans la lettre de M. Methuen du 16^{me}. d'Oct. de ce qu'on a limité dans l'article quatrième du traité, la largeur des vaisseaux qui seront permis d'y faire commerce, le silence que l'on a affecté de garder dans toutes les dépêches qui me sont venues depuis que je vous avois fait part de ma signature avec l'abbé du Bois par ordre du roy, sur cette signature. Tout cela ensemble, my lord, je vous avoue, me fait imaginer, que ce que j'ay fait icy est tellement desapprouvé, que l'on se tient sur ses gardes pour ne pas faire une démarche, qui puisse m'avouer; et que ce sera à moy seul à répondre de ce que j'ay fait par des ordres réitérés du roy, et sur des raisons à mon sens très bien fondées, et très souteuables contre tous ceux qui y voudront trouver à redire: ces soubçons ont fait une telle impression sur moy, que je vous
avoue

avoue que j'en ay fait part au roy, et l'ay supplié très humblement, et très instamment de me permettre de resigner ma charge, et d'écrire à M. Methuen pour me venir relever; car je ne croyois pas qu'il convenoit au service du roy de rester dans une employ comme celuy que j'ay, si j'avois fait quelque chose, et cela par ordre du roy, que mes confreres dans le ministère ne jugent point à propos d'approuver.* Sa majesté n'a pas jugé qu'il fût pour son service de m'accorder pour le présent la grace que je lui avois demandé avec instance, mais il m'a permis de vous en écrire pour que le roy soit éclairci de ces doubtes. C'est ce que j'ay l'honneur de faire par celle cy, et je vous prie que vôtre reponse vienne en François, à fin que le roy luy même l'original de vôtre lettre. Je crois que cette même méthode sera toujours bonne pour l'avenir, à fin qu'il ne puisse pas y avoir dans toutes les lettres particulières, que nous nous écrivons, du mesentendu.

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THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Expresses his dissatisfaction, and mentions the king's resentment that the signature of the treaty with France is delayed.—Censures his notions that parliament will not be induced to approve an interference in the northern affairs.—Apologizes for his freedom.

MY LORD,

Gohre, November 11, 1716.

MY giving your Lordship this trouble, is occasioned by Mr. Stanhope's having shewn me a letter he has writ to you, by the king's express command upon the subject of the French treaty, and the delays in the signing of it. Your Lordship may remember, that at the beginning of this negotiation with France, I was very much against it, apprehending it was an artifice only of the French party in Holland to avoid the treaty with the emperor, and to sow disunion among the allies. However, when I left England, I saw plainly the torrent was for carrying on the negotiation. I knew no more till I came hither of this affair, but what I had from the common news and reports in the Low Countries; and therefore, upon the same general notion, I writ my opinion to your Lordship in general, still to the same effect, while I was at Aix. But upon my arrival there, and Mr. secretary Stanhope's having acquainted me with the treaty itself, and every step that had been taken in it, I was entirely convinced that no negotiation had ever been managed with more pains and prudence, nor no treaty ever brought to a conclusion more glorious nor more advantageous to the king of England: especially, under

Townshend
Papers.

Period II. under the circumstances Europe is like to be in by these proceedings of the
 1714 to 1720. czar, the king of Prussia, &c. which very probably may make France take a
 1716. pretence, from these delays, to avoid signing at last; and, what is worse yet, is, that the occasions of this delay leave it in the power of France to say it is not their fault.

I am sincerely concerned at any thing that may be prejudicial to the king's service, and particularly at any thing that happens, that may not rightly be understood among those in his service, that always have, and always ought to act cordially together: and that is the single reason why I say any thing upon so unpleasant a subject. I must therefore be so plain as to tell you, that I never saw the king resent any thing so much, as this affair, in which he thinks not only Mr. secretary Stanhope but himself not well used; and indeed, I think it wants to be explained.

I must not omit too acquainting your Lordship, that the king is very much surpris'd at the strange notion that seems at present to prevail, as if the Parliament was not to concern themselves in any thing that happens in these parts of the world, which he looks upon not only as exposing him to all kinds of affronts, but even to ruin: and indeed this notion is nothing but the old Tory one, that England can subsist by itself, whatever becomes of the rest of Europe, which has been so justly exploded ever since the revolution.

I am very sensible, that upon many accounts, it might have been more prudent in me, not to have mentioned these things; but the king's service, and the supporting of the right interest, and the union of those in his service depend so much upon these things being rightly understood, that I could not have answer'd it to myself, if I had not troubled you with this letter. You will take it, as I am sure it is sincerely meant by him, that is with the greatest truth and respect, &c.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Stanhope
and
Townshend
Papers. (Nov. 11, 1716.) THE enclosed is a copy of my letter to the king; my heart is so full with the thoughts of having received this usage from you, to whom I have always been so faithful a friend, that you will excuse my not saying any more at this time. I pray God forgive you; I do.

P. S. Lord Sunderland will, I am persuaded, excuse my not answering his letter.

LORD

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

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LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.*

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1716.

Justifies himself from the imputation laid to his charge of having purposely delayed the signature of the treaty with France.—Shews that he had used all possible diligence to expedite the full power for lord Cadogan and Mr. Walpole, and that he was not accessory to the demur of Mr. Walpole in declining to sign the treaty separately without the Dutch.

SIRE,

Whitehall, cet 11—22me. Novembre, 1716.

C'EST avec une surprise et une douleur très sensible, que je reçois hier la lettre que votre majesté a bien voulu m'écrire le 1—12 de ce mois, comme aussi en même tems une lettre de Monf. Stanhope écrite par ordre exprès de votre majesté.

Harrington
and
Townshend
Papers.

Je m'étois flaté que parmi plusieurs inconveniens que la franchise avec laquelle j'ay toujours agi m'auroit pû attirer, elle m'auroit pour le moins procuré cet avantage que de m'avoir garanti du soupçon d'être jamais capable de me servir de ruse et d'artifice pour cacher mes sentimens réels, et pour éviter par des voyes indirectes, ce à quoi je n'osois pas m'opposer ouvertement; mais comme je me trouve assez malheureux d'être soupçonné d'une pareille bassesse, il me sert de quelque consolation que la preuve qu'on en

* The original English draught and the French translation of this dispatch, in the hand writing of Mr. Poyntz, are in the Townshend's papers, the French letter in the hand writing of lord Townshend, which was sent to the king, is among the papers of Charles Stanhope, in the possession of the earl of Harrington. I have printed it in both languages, as well for its importance, as because there is some trifling difference in the draught.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

May it please your Majesty,

Nov. 11—22, 1716.

IT is with the utmost surprise and concern that I received yesterday your majesty's letter of the 1—12 instant, together with one from Mr. secretary Stanhope, written by your majesty's express command.

I was in hopes the frankness and openness of my temper, might among several inconveniencies, at least have had this one good effect with respect to myself, that I might thereby have been secured against the suspicion of being likely to have recourse at any time to artifice and evasion, in order to conceal my reall sentiments, or to decline by indirect methods what I had not the courage openly to declare against and oppose. However, since it has been my misfortune to fall under the suspicion of such a weakness, it is at least some comfort to me, that the

Period II. 1714 to 1720. 1716. en veut donner à votre majesté est de telle nature, que le simple récit des faits suffira pour la convaincre que je suis entièrement innocent du crime qu'on veut m'imputer. Votre majesté me fera la justice de se souvenir que depuis le premier jour que le régent a donné quelque preuve de la droiture de ses intentions à l'égard de cette alliance, en envoyant l'abbé du Bois à la Haye, j'ay toujours été parmi les plus zélés à pousser et à avancer le traité dont il s'agit, et cela même dans un temps où j'avois quelque sujet de douter si votre majesté étoit entièrement convaincûe des raisons qui me portoient à croire qu'une telle alliance seroit avantageuse à ses Royaumes.

Après que l'article de Mardyke fut renvoyé icy les ingénieurs Anglois, le ministre de France, les seigneurs du conseil, et son altesse royale même me rendront la justice de temoigner avec combien d'ardeur et d'affiduité Monsr. Methuen et moi avons travaillé pour amener cette affaire à une prompte et une heureuse conclusion. Depuis ce tems là j'ai contre signé moi même les deux ordres de son altesse royale à my lord chancelier pour afficher le grand sceau au pleinpouvoir de my lord Cadogan pour l'autoriser à signer ce traité ou conjointement avec les Hollandois ou séparément; et j'ose dire avec toute la soumission possible qu'après tout ce qui s'est passé dans cette négociation je ne m'attendois pas que personne au monde m'eut jamais dû accuser de manque d'empressement à voir achever ce traité.

J'avoue

instance given, is such, that your majesty upon a fair representation of what has passed, must be convinced from the facts themselves, that I am entirely innocent of the crime insinuated against me.

Your majesty will do me the justice to remember, that ever since the regent first gave reason to believe he was sincere in desiring this alliance, by his sending the abbot du Bois to the Hague, I have all along been one of the forwardest in pressing and soliciting the advancement of this treaty, even at a time when I had some grounds to doubt, whether your majesty entered with equal conviction into the reasons which induced me to represent this alliance as most advantageous for your kingdoms.

As soon as the article of Mardyk was referr'd hither, the British engineers, the minister of France, the committee of council, and his royall highness the prince himself, will all witness with what earnestness and application Mr. Methuen and I laboured to bring this point to a happy and speedy conclusion. I have since countersigned two warrants from his royall highness to my lord chancellor, for causing the great seal to be appended to lord Cadogan's full powers, by which he is authorised to sign this treaty, either jointly with the Dutch or separately; and I beg leave to say, with all submission, that after all that has passed on this occasion, I never expected to be accused of want of zeal for the perfecting this treaty. I own, that I was under

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J'avoue que je me suis trompé en croiant que le plein-pouvoir de Monf. Walpole étoit fuffifant pour l'autorifer à figner avec les François féparément, mais aufsitôt que je m'apperçeus de mon erreur fans attendre les inftructions ultérieures de vôtre majefté à cet égard, j'obtins un ordre de fon alteffe royale pour faire dresser un nouveau plein-pouvoir pour my lord Cadogan et Monf. Walpole. Je contre fignai cet ordre du plein-pouvoir avec toute la diligence qu'il m'étoit poffible, la cour étant alors à Hampton Court, et plufieurs des feigneurs étant à la campagne.

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Il eft vray que ce plein-pouvoir a été conçu en des termes généraux, renfermans tous les cas particuliers, et étant par là (comme on croyoit icy) mieux accordé à toutes les circonftances et événemens imprevis qui pouvoient naître. Il eft auffi vrai que des plein-pouvoirs d'une pareille forme ont été accordés, et s'accordant tous les jours à tous les plein-pouvoirs que vôtre majefté envoie, ou que fes prédéceffeurs ont envoyé, en quelque cour que ce foit, fans qu'il y foit fait la moindre mention d'aucun traité particulier à faire, neant moins quand il a été queftion de figner quelque traité particulier on n'a jamais fait aucune objection contre ces plein-pouvoirs comme étant conçus en termes trop généraux. Monf. Methuen luy même fit le traité avec le roy de Portugall en vertu d'un plein-pouvoir de cette efpece, et plufieurs autres ont faite de même fans qu'on leur ait jamais fufcité l'objection faite par l'abbé du Bois à cette occafion, et il eft sûr que vôtre majefté pourroit par un feul acte constituer la même perfonne pour négocier avec tous les princes

an error in thinking Mr. Walpole's first full powers were fufficient to authorife him to fign with France féparately; but as foon as ever I was fenfible of this miftake, without expecting your majefty's particular commands, I immediately obtained a warrant from his royal highnefs for a new full power to lord Cadogan and Mr. Walpole jointly, which warrant I counterfigned, and gott the full powers paffed through the féveral forms, and difpatched to Holland with as much expedition, as was at that time poffible; the court being at Hampton Court, and moft of the lords out of town.

This full power was, it is true, conceived in generall terms, including all particulars, and confequently (as was thought here) the better fitted to fuit all unforefeen circumftances that might arife. And it is no lefs true, that full powers in the fame generall form have ever been, and are daily given to all the plenipotentiarys, whom your majefty or your prédéceffeurs have fent into foreign courts. Mr. Methuen himfelf, concluded the treaty of Portugal, in virtue of fuch a full power, and féveral others have done the like, without any one's making the objection now flarted by the abbé du Bois; and it is certain, that your majefty might, by one fingle full power, authorife one and the fame perfon to negotiate with all the princes in Europe.

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princes en Europe. Les lettres de my lord Cadogan montrent, qu'il est de ce sentiment, comme il paroît par les paroles suivantes dans sa lettre à moi du 17^{me}. de ce mois N. S. (Dimanche au soir le 15^{me}. de ce mois je reçus par le messager nommé Smith l'honneur de vôtre lettre du 29 d'Octobre N. S. avec les nouveaux pleinpouvoirs, et prens la liberté de vous dire, que je suis du même sentiment que vous, que ceux que j'avois auparavant étoient suffisans) monsieur d'Ibberville en est persuadé à un tel point, que lors que monf. Methuen luy exposoit l'objection de l'abbé, il dit que l'abbé n'étoit qu'un novice dans ces affaires et que son objection n'avoit pas la moindre force. Mais pour faire voir à vôtre majesté que je n'avois aucun dessein d'apporter du délai à la signature de ce traité avantageux, et que je n'ay jamais songé, en expédiant en termes généraux le premier pleinpouvoir, de me servir de cet artifice pour éviter de donner aucun ordre signé de ma main pour autoriser my lord Cadogan à signer avec la France séparément sans les Hollandois, dès le moment que my lord Cadogan me fit sçavoir, l'objection de l'abbé sans attendre le commandement exprès de vôtre majesté, j'obtins un ordre de son altesse royale (copie du quel je prens la liberté d'envoyer à vôtre majesté) que je contre signai de ma main propre, pour faire dresser un second pleinpouvoir selon la forme prescrite par l'abbé, et comme la cour se trouvoit alors en ville je le fis expédier en telle diligence, que quoique la lettre de my lord Cadogan ne me fût rendue que le 29 d'Octobre au matin, le messager partit la nuit du dit jour à douze heures, avec le pleinpouvoir : et le vent n'étant pas bon pour passer en Hollande, je donnai un ordre au maître des postes de lui fournir un vaisseau pour aller à Calais en toute

My lord Cadogan's letters to me, shew him to be of this opinion; and M. d'Ibberville is so much of the same sentiment, that when Mr. Methuen stated the abbé's difficulty to him, he said the abbé was but a novice in this sort of business; and that there was not the least weight in this objection.

But to convince your majesty, that I had no intention to delay this great affair, and that it never was in my thoughts to make use of any artifice to avoid having my hand appear to the orders for my lord Cadogan's signing this treaty separately without the Dutch, the very moment that I received notice from him of the Abbé's objection, I obtained a warrant from his royal highness (and counter-signed it myself, a copy of which, I take the liberty to inclose to your majesty) for passing a second full power to lord Cadogan in the form prescribed by the abbé; and the court being then returned to town, I got it dispatched with so much expedition, that tho' lord Cadogan's letter was not received till the 29th of October in the morning, the messenger sett out with it the same night at 12 o'clock, with orders to the postmaster to furnish him with a boat express to Calais, the winds being then contrary for sailing to Holland. The dispatching these

toute diligence. J'espère que l'expédition de ce pleinpouvoir en des termes si précis, et avec tant de diligence avant que j'eusse eu l'honneur de recevoir les ordres de votre majesté, la convaincra de la droiture de mes intentions et combien j'ay été éloigné des deffins qu'on vent m'imputer. Period II.
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Je ne suis pas moins surpris que fâché d'apprendre que nonobstant l'expédition de ce pleinpouvoir l'abbé persiflé à former de nouveaux prétextes de délai, alléguant que ce pleinpouvoir auroit dû être contresigné de ma main; il est vray que les premiers pleinpouvoirs que j'ay envoyé à my lord Cadogan furent contresignez par moi, ce qui est arrivé parce que, je me suis trouvé alors à Hampton Court où je ne pouvois avoir recours aux livres des bureaux: mais ayant vû par les objections de l'abbé à ces pouvoirs combien il étoit délicat et scrupuleux dans les choses de cette espèce j'ay crû qu'il étoit de mon devoir de prendre soin, que toutes les formalitez requises fussent observées dans les derniers pouvoirs, qu'on a envoyé, et ayant pour cet effet examiné les registres de la secretaire et ayant fait faire un extrait de la signature des pleinpouvoir (dont je prens la liberté d'envoyer copie à votre majesté) il paroît que les secretaïres d'état n'ont pas accoutumé de contresigner ces pleinpouvoirs, les ordres cependant en vertu desquels le grand sceau a été affiché aux pleinpouvoirs ont été (comme j'ay déjà eu l'honneur de dire à votre majesté) contresignés de moy, selon qu'il se pratique icy en des pareilles occasions. Les seigneurs du conseil ayant lû la lettre de my lord Cadogan ont été d'opinion

these full powers, with so much diligence, and in such explicit terms, before I had the honour to receive your majesty's commands, will, I hope, convince your majesty of the fairness of my intentions, and how far I was from having the design with which I am charged.

I am equally surprised and concerned to find, that notwithstanding the arrival of these powers, the abbé still persists to form new pretences of delay; alledging now, that these full powers ought to have been countersigned by me. The warrants by virtue of which the great seal was appended to both the powers were (as I have already had the honour to acquaint your majesty) countersigned by me, according to what is usually practised here, in the like cases; but having examined the registers of the office, and caused an extract to be made of the manner of signing the full powers for almost an age back (a copy of which extract, I have sent to lord Cadogan) it appears, that it is not the custom for secretaries of state to countersign instruments of that nature. And the lords of the committee, having read my lord Cadogan's letter, were of opinion, that it was not convenient in the present case to recede from the usual practice on the like occasions, least a handle should be taken from thence to invalidate all that was transmitted by the English ministers at the treaties of Utrecht, of Rîswick, of Nîmeguen, and higher up, at all which negociations, the ministers of France and other courts signed with ours, upon

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nion qu'il ne falloit pas s'écarter de l'usage ordinaire, mais comme l'abbé a temoigné à my lord Cadogan de vouloir se contenter d'une declaration sous main portant que cette contre signature n'est pas essentielle, je luy en expédiaï une hier en toute diligence.

Pour ce qui regarde le refus de monf. Walpole d'affister à la signature de ce traité (ce qui a contribué à porter monf. Stanhope à l'ombrage à mon égard) je puis assurer vôte majesté que loin de luy avoir inspiré ce sentiment lors qu'il m'écrivoit pour luy obtenir la permission de son altesse royale de revenir en Angleterre, je luy envoyai un refus positif, et je luy conseillai de ne se pas laisser porter par ses sentimens particuliers à défobéir aux ordres de vôte majesté. Ayant de cette manière exposé à vôte majesté la verité des faits sans aucun déguisement; il ne me reste que de luy demander pardon très humblement avec la plus profonde soumission et attachement le plus inviolable.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Expresses his surprise and regret at incurring blame for his conduct.—Justifies himself.—Denies that he gave any promise to the king in regard to the payment of the German troops.—States the inconveniences, should parliament meet later than the end of January.

DEAR SIR,

London, Nov. 21—22, 1716.

Stanhope
Papers.

AT my return from the country, lord Townshend communicated to me the contents of both your letters, which so nearly concern me, as every thing must needs do, that gives me reason to believe I suffer in his majestie's good opinion. There can be no greater misfortune, than to incur blame and

upon the credit of full powers, not countersigned by any of our secretaries of state. But as the abbé du Bois signified to lord Cadogan, that he should be contented with a declaration on this head, I sent my lord Cadogan such a declaration last night by an express.

As for Mr. Walpole's declining to assist at the signing this treaty (which I perceive has helped to mislead Mr. Stanhope into these undeserved suspicions of me) is what I was so far from being accessary to, that upon his applying to the prince by me for leave of absence, I sent him a positive refusal, and advised him to lett no private reasons of his own interfere with your majesty's express commands.

Having thus laid the real facts before your majesty, without any colouring or disguise, I have nothing more to add, but most humbly to beg pardon for the tediousness of this relation, and to assure your majesty, that I am with the utmost submission and duty, &c.

displeasure

displeasure for those very things, which a man thinks he has deserv'd well in; but this seems to be the fate of those who have the honour to serve at a distance. As to the business of St. Christopher's, I am sure I have done nothing in it yett, wherein 'tis possible for me to offend; and I have already wrote to you my sentiments so fully, that I can say no more upon it, unless in a conference which count Bothmar has desired with me on Tuesday morning, something shall occur that I may think proper to give you an account of; and I must beg leave to defer entering into any particulars relating to the payment of the troops of Saxe Gotha and Munster, till after that time, because I am sure count Bothmar dares not deny to me, but that I have shew'd a more than ordinary readiness to facilitate that matter; and this I am confident I shall be able to tell you, he has confess'd to me. I must only add one thing, that I am at a loss what to say, when I am told, I promised the king a method should be found out to pay this money. I do not presume to enter into this dispute, but I hope I shall be thought more excusable, when I protest before God, that I cannot recollect, that ever the king mention'd one syllable of this to me, or I to him; but my memory must fail me, when his majesty says the contrary.

By your letter to lord Townshend, received this day, I understand 'tis his majesty's pleasure that the parliament should not meet before the eighth of January. I think it my duty to suggest to you, that 'tis to be remember'd, that the parliament left last year above six hundred thousand pounds of the supply unrais'd; notwithstanding which, it has been so order'd, that we shall be able to subsist the forces till the latter end of January, by throwing the deficiency upon such parts of the service as were best able to bear it, but this not without great inconveniencies; and if his majesty should have any thoughts of a further prorogation, I beg this may be consider'd, and we may timely know, what is to be expected, that all possible care be taken; tho' I am sensible, it must be done with the greatest difficulty, if at all practicable; and the methods we shall be obliged to take, will in some measure, I fear, affect our credit, which at this time proves very unfortunate. I am, &c.

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HORACE WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Mentions his arrival at the Hague.—His conference with the pensionary, and his resolution to set off immediately for Hanover.

MY LORD,

Tuesday night, Nov. 17, 1716.

Townshend
Papers.

AFTER a good deal of fatigue at sea, and crossing Macfland-fluys against wind and tyde, I arrived here this evening as soon as the mail; and the next minute I waited upon the pensionary, who was extreamly pleased with the assurances I gave him from the prince of his royal highness's affection to this republick, and particular esteem for him the pensionary. As a mark of it, I was order'd to communicate to him the intercepted letters of correspondence between the Swedish ministers; and I hinted to him the opinion of his royal highness, that we should keep well with the czar, and divert the king of Sweden from being able to attempt any thing against England, by giving him work enough at home. But if the States could think of any vigorous measures to be taken in concert with England, for quieting the troubles in the north, I did not doubt but great attention would be given to them by his majesty and his royal highness. He told me he was sorry to say, that the situation of their affairs is such as not to permitt them to act with that resolution and vigour as is often necessary; and therefore he seem'd to like well enough his royal highness's opinion in relation to the king of Sweden; but observed to me, that the design of favouring the pretender by some attempt upon Great Britain, was only at present a project of count Gullenbourg, transacted between him and the jacobites, and not yet agreed to by Sweden; however, he own'd we ought to be upon our guard. He told me the States of Holland are to meet to morrow, and that it depends upon Leyden and Rotterdam's sentiments in relation to their tarif of sixty-four, whether they shall agree to sign the treaty with France. The pensionary himfelfe seem'd to think those towns in the wrong to insist upon a point which Amsterdam has waved; but he could nott yett tell me what the result would be; most of the rest of the provinces are well disposed; if that of Holland would come to a good resolution.

It is past 9 o'clock, but I am resolved to continue my journey this night for Hannover, in company of a messenger lord Cadogan sends thither, about the difficulty made by the abbé du Bois against signing the treaty with him. I am with the greatest respect and affection, &c.

HORACE

HORACE WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Announces his arrival.—And surprise at the state of things.

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MY LORD,

Gore, Nov. 23, 1716.

THIS is only to acquaint your lordship, that I arrived here yesterday noon; and found that orders have been sent to England to prorogue the parliament to the 8th of January, O. S. and I don't believe that it will then meet to do business, because the king will scarcely be in England, by what I can learn, by that time, and there are some that do not think it prudent that any business should be done before his majesty's arrival; but we shall soon know with more certainty what will be resolved upon in relation to this matter, as soon as his majesty is come to Hanover, which will be on Monday next. I do not think it proper to send your lordship by letter an account of what has passed in discourse between Mr. Stanhope and me. Your lordship will have, before this time, as much to your own surprise as mine, received a letter from the king, as well as from Mr. Secretary, relating to what has been transacted about the full powers for the particular signing with France. I shall expect to see what answer your lordship will give to these letters before I set out for England; and I shall, in the mean time, learn what we are like to expect from the resolutions there as well in regard to the carrying on of the public business, as to the ministers, and management that is to be used in those matters. It is impossible for me in a letter to say any more, but that I am with the most steadfast adherence and affection, &c.

Townshend
Papers.

HORACE WALPOLE TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Arrives at the Hague much indisposed, but is anxious to continue his journey to England, for the purpose of executing speedily the commission with which he is charged, to reconcile lord Townshend and him, in which he trusts he shall succeed.

DEAR SIR,

Hague, December 8, 1716.

I Arrived here last night in a very indifferent condition; for my chaise breaking two posts from Hanover, I got into a light open waggon, and by that means was exposed to such violent storms of wind, hail, and rain, that after the first night, I contracted extream pains in all my joints on my left side, so that it was impossible for me to ride on horseback. However, without taking any rest, I continued my journey hither, that I may lose no time in my

Harrington
Papers.

Period II. way to England, in order to execute a commission that I think of the utmost
 1714 to 1720. consequence to the publick affairs; and which my own particular concern, as
 1716. well as his majesty's service, will engage me to use my utmost skill to bring to
 a good issue. The wind continues directly contrary for England, so that
 Hutchins, the messenger, is detained at Helvetfluys; but I dispatched
 Collins yesterday by way of Calais, and wrote by him a letter to my brother
 Walpole, with notice of my being in the way for England; and intimated to
 him the purport of my errand; so that things may rest there on the foot they
 are untill my arrivall.

In the mean time, I must earnestly entreat you to divest yoursele of all
 manner of suspicion of lord Townshend's having ever had the least design to
 doe any thing to disoblige you, or contrary to that tye of friendship and con-
 fidence in which you lived so long and happily together. I think myself au-
 thorised to say this, because I'm sensible the difficulty I made in relation to
 the particular signing with France, was one of the cheifest grounds of your
 jealousy; and I protest before God, that what I did, came purely from my-
 selfe; and my lord Townshend earnestly exhorted me to the contrary. I
 shall add nothing else on that subject, because I think all expostulations and
eclaircissements must be laid aside; and we must, as you told me, look for-
 ward; in which you may depend upon my offices to put the king's friends
 and servants upon the same foot of harmony and union with which they have
 acted so successfully. And I cannot forbear to flatter myself with some hopes of
 success; and if I can compass this point, I shall think I have done my king
 and country some service.

I must take notice to you, that the East India Company having occasion
 for a quantity of money from hence, desired a yacht might be sent over for
 that purpose; and the admiralty was pleased to favour my brother Gall: with
 that commission, who is arrived here; but as things of that nature are never
 specified in the orders, the expectation of my returning about this time from
 Hanover, and the carrying me into England, is the substance of his orders.
 I have acquainted him, that the yachts are sent for; so that he has gone on
 board to make use of the first wind to get over, in order to be made fitt, and
 return for his majesty's service with the rest of the yachts; and if the wind
 should continue contrary two or three days, I hope to be in a condition to
 goe with him. But the physician, who has been with me, since I began to
 write this letter, is very apprehensive of a rumatism, and tells me, I must
 not stir out yet; but as I am much mended since last night, I hope by to-
 morrow

morrow morning I shall be much better, after having taken something. I am, with the greatest sincerity and respect imaginable, dear sir, &c.

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1714 to 1720.

My respects to lord Sunderland, and pardon this scrawl, which I write with great pain.

1716.

SECRETARY STANHOPE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Inform him that the king has been pleased to reward his services by appointing him lord lieutenant of Ireland.

MY LORD,

Hanover, Dec. 15, 1716.

THE enclosed copy of my dispatch to Mr. secretary Methuen,* will inform your lordship of the great regard which his majesty has thought fitt, upon this occasion, to express for your eminent services; which, as they have very justly intitled your lordship to the greatest employment a king of England has to give, so I am persuaded the services you will do his majesty in this station, will be no less advantageous to the publick, and will, if possible, increase your lordship's own reputation. That it may be so, is most sincerely wished by, &c.

Harrington
Papers.

SECRETARY STANHOPE TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Inform him of lord Townshend's removal, and justifies his own conduct on the occasion.—King very uneasy of late, and highly displeased with lord Townshend.—Plan for a new ministry, if lord Townshend should refuse the lord lieutenancy, and Walpole resign.

DEAR SIR,

Hanover, Dec. 15, 1716.

YOU will see by my dispatch to Mr. secretary Methuen, of which I send you enclosed a copy, the alteration which his majesty hath judged necessary for his service to be made in the ministry. If I could possibly have an hours discourse with you, I am sure I should make you sensible, that the part I have had in the last step hath been for my lord Townshend's service. Every circumstance considered, I do in my conscience believe, this was the only measure which could secure the continuance of a whigg administration with any ease to the king. His majesty hath been more uneasy of late, than I care to say; and I must own, I think he has reason, even tho' I

Harrington
Papers.

* The dispatch to secretary Methuen, which announced the removal of lord Townshend, and his appointment to act as the secretary of state in England, is missing.

Period II. don't pretend to know so much of the matter as the king does; his majesty
 1714 to 1720. receiving many advices, which come neither through my hands nor my lord
 1716. Sunderland's. But I cannot help observing to you, that he is jealous of certain intimacies with the two brothers. I hope his majesty's presence in England, and the behaviour of our friends in the cabinet, will remove these jealousies. No one man can contribute more to this than yourself; and I must tell you, that my lord Sunderland, as well as myself, have assured the king that you will do so. You know that ill offices had been done you here, which might have made some impression, if my lord Sunderland and I had not in good earnest endeavoured to prevent it.

You will, I am persuaded, believe that our endeavours were sincere, when I shall have told you with the frankness I am going to do, what our scheme is here for the ministry. In case my lord Townshend accepts of Ireland, which for a thousand reasons, he ought to do, the cabinet council will remain just as it was, with the addition of the duke of Kingston as privy seal. Mr. Methuen and I shall continue secretaries. But if my lord Townshend shall decline Ireland; and if, which by some has been suggested, but which I cannot think possible, he should prevail upon you to offer to quit your employments, the king in this case, hath engaged my lord Sunderland and myself to promise, that his lordship will be secretary; and that I, unable and unequal as I am every way, should be chancellor of the exchequer for this session; the king declaring, that as long as he can find whiggs that will serve him, he will be served by them. Which good disposition his majesty shall not have reason to alter, by any backwardness in me to expose myself to any trouble or hazard. You know as much of our plan now, as I do, and are, I dare say, fully satisfied, that I think it highly concerns me, that you should stay where you are. I am very sorry that my lord Townshend's temper hath made it impracticable for him to continue secretary. The king will not bear him in that office, be the consequence what it will. This being the case, I hope and desire that you will endeavour to reconcile him to Ireland, which I once thought he did not dislike; and which, I think, he cannot now refuse, without declaring to the world, that he will serve upon no other terms, than being viceroy over father, son, and their three kingdoms. Is the whigg interest to be staked in defence of such a pretension? or is the difference to the whigg party, whither lord Townshend be secretary or lord lieutenant of Ireland tantum? I hope this letter will convince you of the confidence in which I desire we may live and act; and am ever with great truth, &c.

The

The present dispatch leaves, you see, a commissioners place vacant at your board, touching the filling up which, I should be glad to have your sentiments as soon as may be. I believe the king will leave Hanover as soon as he has advice, that the yatchts are in Holland. Judging that it may be very much for my lord Townshend's service and for yours, that you should receive this letter as soon as may be, I send it by your friend Brereton, who is a very sensible young man, and I have ordered him to manage it so, that this letter be delivered to you four and twenty hours, before the messenger who goes along with him, deliver my dispatch to Mr. secretary Methuen, that you may have so much time to reason with my lord Townshend.

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1716.

SECRETARY STANHOPE TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

*Sends a copy of the dispatch to secretary Methuen, before it is delivered.—
Hopes that lord Townshend will accept the lord lieutenancy of Ireland.*

DEAR SIR,

Hanover, December 15, 1716-17.

HAVING received the king's command to send a dispatch to Mr. secretary Methuen, of which you have enclosed a copy, I have thought the best service I can do to my lord Townshend and to yourself, is to give you as early notice of it as possible; and for this purpose have sent Mr. Brereton with these few lines, which he will take care to deliver to you before my public dispatch can be delivered to the secretary; I think it is of the utmost consequence for the king's service, for the interest of the whigg cause, for that of my lord Townshend, and yours, that my lord Townshend should acquiesce in this disposition of the king's, wherein so much regard is shewn to his lordship, that I hope he will do it with a good grace. I am sure you cannot at this time so much conduce to the public good as by disposing his lordship to a temper suitable to this occasion, and am therefore persuaded your endeavours will not be wanting. That you may succeed, is the hearty wish of, &c.

Harrington
Papers.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

SIR,

Whitehall, December 11—22, 1716.

I Take your's of the 15th in the same sense I am persuaded you meant it; and though I have not so much vanity as to imagine my services have ever deserved the fine things you are pleased to say of them, yet I must confess, till I received this last letter from you, I was weak enough to think your partiality

Stanhope,
Harrington,
and
Townshend
Papers.

Period II. partiality to me, had given you a favourable opinion of them; and I was the
 1714 to 1720. more confirmed in this idle notion from the report Horace made me of what
 1716. passed between him and you on this subject. The inclosed is a letter to the
 king, which I beg you would deliver to his majesty.

I am, with great respect, sir, your most obedient humble servant.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.*

Receives his dismissal.—And declines accepting the lord lieutenancy of Ireland.

SIRE,

December 11—22, 1716.

Townshend and Harrington Papers. J'AY reçu avec la déférence et la soumission la plus parfaite les ordres de
 votre majesté intimés par Monsieur le secrétaire Methuen, par les quels
 je me trouve remis de la charge de secrétaire d'état.

Je demande très humblement la permission de faire souvenir votre majesté de ce que j'eus l'honneur de luy dire quand elle me fit l'honneur de me donner cet emploi, que je me ferois estimé trop heureux si j'y avois pu apporter autant de capacité comme j'avois toujours senti de zèle et de passion pour son service; auquel cas je suis sûr que votre majesté auroit eu tout lieu d'être contente de mes services. Je puis dire avec beaucoup de vérité que le desir de témoigner la reconnoissance que j'avois du choix que votre majesté avoit bien voulu faire de moi pour cet emploi, a été le seul motif capable de me soutenir jusqu' ici sous les fatigues dont je l'ai trouvé chargé.

Je suis très sensible à l'honneur que votre majesté m'a faite en daignant de me nommer pour son lieutenant d'Irlande. Mais comme mes affaires domestiques ne me permettent pas d'établir mon séjour hors d'Angleterre, et que je m'estimerois tout à fait indigne du choix que votre majesté a bien voulu faire si j'étois capable de jouir des gros appointements de cet honorable emploi sans me mettre en état de les mériter en faisant les fonctions requises, j'espère que votre majesté aura la bonté de m'en excuser, et qu'elle m'accordera la permission de vaquer aux affaires particulières de ma famille, que j'ay négligées un peu trop.

Au reste j'ose assurer votre majesté, que quelque part que je me trouve, elle peut compter sur un sujet fidèle et reconnoissant, assidu à avancer le service de votre majesté du mieux de son pouvoir, ayant l'honneur d'être avec le zèle et l'attachement le plus inviolable. Sire, de votre majesté, le très humble très obéissant et très fidèle sujet et serviteur.

* The original English draught of this letter, is printed in the Memoirs, chapter 15.

SECRETARY METHUEN TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.

Complains of the extreme disagreeableness of his situation.—Requests permission to resign his office of secretary of state—and expresses his willingness to continue in the treasury, as long as Walpole is first lord commissioner.

1716.

DEAR SIR,

Whitehall, Dec. 12—23, 1716.

I Return you my hearty thanks for your favour of the 3d instant, which I received by Horace Walpole, and am extremely glad to find that I had not had the misfortune to displease his majesty, or to suffer in your good opinion. I should have been very much concerned at either of them, considering the life I have lead since the king's departure, and all I have borne, which I can assure you is hardly to be expressed. I write this to you at four in the morning, and have been now eleven hours at my office, so that I am almost dead; and must beg of you to interceed with the king, not to take what I have written to you in my other letter amiss, for I am not able to endure the fatigue of this employment, and would, if it were put to my choice, rather be a slave in the galleys. I am quite tired with the wickedness and impertinence of mankind, and beg you would pitch on some other colleague, for I wish I may be able to hold out till you come. If the king is pleased to let me remain in the treasury as long as it stands as it does now, I shall be extremely satisfied; if not, I shall be well enough pleased, for I really want a little rest and time to take care of my health and affairs. I heartily wish you may find every thing to your satisfaction here, but am afraid you will not. I am, with all possible truth and respect, dear sir, &c.

Harrington
Papers.

Private.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Expostulates on his conduct.—Justifies lord Townshend's and his own conduct in regard to their behaviour to the prince of Wales.—Denies any secret intelligence with the duke of Argyle and the earl of Ilay.

DEAR SIR,

Dec. 12—23, 1716.

YOUR private letter to me, I have not let one mortal see. I never read it, but some parts of it astonish me so much, that I know not what to say or think. What could prevail on you to enter into such a scheme as this, and appear to be chief actor in it, and undertake to carry it thro' in all events, without which it could not have been undertaken, is unaccountable. I do swear, to you, that lord Townshend has no way deserved it of you; and even after

Harrington
Papers.

Period II. after the letter that came with the king's, I do protest to you, he never treated
 1714 to 1720. your conduct in that matter, but as a mistake; which, when you were sensible
 1716. of, your friendship for him would easily prevail upon you to retract. Believe me, Stanhope, he never thought you could enter into a combination with his enemies against him.

I find you are all persuaded, the scheme is so adjusted, that it can meet with no objection from the whigs. Believe me, you will find the direct contrary true, with every unprejudiced whig of any consequence or consideration. I, perhaps, am too nearly concerned in the consequences to gain any credit with you. However, I can't help telling you, you don't know what you are a doing. 'Tis very hard to treat my lord Townshend in the manner you have done, but 'tis more unjust to load him with imputations to justify such ill treatment. Such sudden changes to old sworn friends, are seldom look'd upon in the world with a favourable eye. What is given out here and publish'd, from letters from among you, in regard to the prince, I cannot but take notice of, and will stake my all upon this single issue, if one instance can be given of our behaviour to the prince, but what was necessary to carry on the king's service; and we never had a thought, but with a just and due regard to the king as our king and master; and as for any secret intimacies or management undertaken with the two brothers, if there be the least handle, or one instance can be given of it, call me for ever *villain*; if not, think as you please of those that say or write this.

I will say no more, but give you one piece of advice. Stop your hand till you come over, and can see and hear, how that you have already done, is represented here. I am very sensible in what a manner lord Townshend's refusal may be represented to the king. Think a little coolly, and consider how possible it is for men in a passion to do things, which they may heartily wish undone. I write this as an old acquaintance, that still desires to live in as much friendship, as you will make it possible or practicable for me. And let me once more beg of you to recollect yourself, and lay aside that passion, which seems to be so predominant in all your actions. I have heard old friends were to be valued like old gold. I never wish'd any thing more sincerely than to bear that title, and to preserve it with you.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO SECRETARY STANHOPE

Period II.
1714 to 1720.

Reproaches him for his change of sentiments.—Exculpates himself in regard to the payment of the German troops.—Declines attempting to persuade lord Townshend to accept the lord lieutenancy.—Denies that he carried on any intrigues with the duke of Argyle and lord Ilay.

1716.

Dec. 12—23, 1716.

I Have received the favour of yours of the 3d instant, N. S. by my brother, and very soon after had what you sent by Mr. Brereton of the 15th. What could possibly create so great an alteration among you in the space of twelve days is in vain to guess, and impossible to determine. But I suppose I am mistaken, when I think there was any change in the measures, except in the time of execution. I think I have no commands at present from his majesty to you, but in relation to the payment of the Saxe-Gotha and Munster troops, which I hope will be no longer thought to stand at my door: since after all that has been said about this affair, there are at this hour no powers from Saxe-Gotha to receive the money; and as M. Hallangius tells me, his master will give no powers but to him; and count Bothmar tells me this morning, what was agreed upon betwixt us to be sent from your side of the water, in order to be laid before the cabinet council, is come so imperfect, that 'tis not fitt to be produced. He has desired however, that six or seven thousand pounds may be paid upon account of the troops of Munster, which shall be laid before the cabinet council at their first meeting.

Harrington
Papers.

When you desired me to prevail with my lord Townshend to acquiesce in what is carv'd out for him, I cannot but say you desired an impossibility; and 'tis fitt you should know, that there is not one of the cabinet council, with whom you and lord Sunderland have agreed in all things for so many years, but think, that considering all the circumstances and manner of doing this, no body could advise him to accept of the lieutenancy of Ireland; and that it cannot be supposed, that the authors of this scheme either thought he would, or desired he should. And believe me, when I tell you, this matter is universally received here by all men of sense, and well wishers to the king, in another manner than you could imagine, when you gave into the measure. And be assured, that whoever sent over the accounts of any intrigues or private correspondence betwixt us and the two * brothers, or any management

* The duke of Argyle and the earl of Ilay.

Period II. in the least tending to any view or purpose, but the service, honour, and interest of the king, I must repeat it, be assured, they will be found, pardon the expression, confounded liars, from the beginning to the end.

1714 to 1720.
1716.

repeat it

Whilst we write at this distance, and think so widely different of all things transacting, 'tis labour lost to enlarge; so that I will give you no further trouble till we meet, but to assure you, that I am very sincerely, dear sir, your most faithful humble servant.

HORACE WALPOLE TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Detained by contrary winds at the Brill.—Executed his commission to lord Townshend with success and satisfaction.—Warmly remonstrates, and bitterly reproaches him for his insidious conduct.—Expresses hopes, that he will yet act according to the dictates of honour and justice.—Justifies lord Townshend from the accusations urged against him.

SIR,

London, December 12—23, 1716.

Harrington
Papers.

THE accident of my not being able to get over the Maes in the yacht, and the contrary winds which followed, detained me at the Brill so long, that I did not arrive here till yesterday in the packet boat, when I had the good fortune to execute his majesty's commands, and what had been settled between you and me, in such a manner, that I performed with the greatest pleasure imaginable my errand. The letters you wrote to my lord Townshend and brother Walpole, and what I declared to them from the king, were received with so much satisfaction, that I could not say of having the success I promised myself, and which you seem'd so earnestly to desire when I left you; and I had the agreeable prospect of seeing that all past misunderstandings would be entirely forgotten, and a happy union and harmony be once more re-established between his majesty's faithful and honest servants.

But when Mr. Brereton's dispatches, who arrived at the same time, were opened, it was impossible to express the consternation they occasioned; with which you must needs think I was in a more particular and extraordinary manner affected. And I must own, I am so confounded, that I do not know well what to say. I cannot think it necessary to appeal to your memory and conscience for what passed between you and me, and to consider upon what terms we parted; how earnestly you then wished I might succeed in the negotiation I undertook; and that it was an express agreement, that things should continue on the same foot they then were, until you heard from me.

me. The measures that have been pursued at Hanover, since I came away, are so contradictory to these engagements, that you may think of treating me as you please; yet, I am willing to believe, that you have still so much honour, and such a regard for your own word, that you would have opposed, at least not have willingly consented to these proceedings; and by what you told me, I thought your influence with his majesty might have enabled you to prevent this unaccountable turn being taken, untill you had heard from me the success of my journey.

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1714 to 1720.
1716.

I shall leave it to others, for whom you still retain some value and esteem, to expostulate more largely with you about these matters; but I think I am obliged to add, that when you have time and coolness enough to enquire into the truth of them, you will with shame and confusion be obliged to own, that you have been most grossly deceived and imposed upon in every particular relating to my lord Townshend, as well as to what concerns yourself, or the service of his majesty. Those that see and converse with his lordship every day, can give undeniable proofs of his lordship's having entertained the same affection and friendship for you, since your absence, as he ever did when you lived and laboured here so happily together. And as to his majesty's interest, not only the rest of the king's servants here, but all honest and impartial men will convince you, that it never was promoted with greater fidelity and prudence than it has been within some months last past; and that what has been by the malice of some, and weakness of others, imputed to lord Townshend and the others, as a heinous crime, will, when calmly considered, be found to have been the most glorious and faithfullest part of their administration, for the service of his majesty.

I take this liberty with you, because you talked in a very free, tho' in a very mistaken manner to me on this subject; and I have such an opinion of you, that I don't doubt, but when these things shall be put in a true light before your eyes, you will resign your good sense and calmer thoughts to the irresistible evidence of them. And if honesty, honour, and justice can prevail, as I am confident it will with you, I don't despair of seeing you once more live well with those from whom you seem at present to be separated by an unaccountable prejudice, for want of being duely informed of the true state of matters; and that this may be the case, is the sincere desire of, sir, your most faithful and obedient servant.

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1714 to 1720.

THE DUKE OF SOMERSET TO THE EARL OF ILAY.

1716.

Rejoices at the removal of Townshend, which he hopes will be followed by the dismissal of Sunderland and Stanhope.—Laments that the prince is commanded to appoint a groom of the stole.

MY LORD,

Petworth, Dec. 13—24, 1716.

Campbell
Papers.

I Think lord Townshend is very rightly kicked out from being our first minister and governour in Great Britain, into a second governour in Ireland; and lord Sunderland, whoe hath been false even to his best friends, will now fall unpityed. Stanhope hath noe interest in the nation; hee is to make friends, when hee is made a lord; for that part of the scheme one may dive into, that hee is noe more to expose himself to the contempt of the house of commons. I long to know the parts which Lord Cowper, and my friend Parker will act in this jumble; for if they are not lett more into in the secrets, than hitherto they have been, or at least as they say, they have not been; neither the duke of Grafton, duke of Kingston, duke of Roxburgh, nor lord Polwarth's interest in parliament will bee any help, especially if Walpole doe either lay down or become silent, or one would think there is a great deal more still to bee done; or they had better not have done soe much, tho' I am in high delight with what these things will produce, good for us all at last.

Yet what distracts my thoughts, are the king's orders to the prince to give away the duke of Argyle's regiment and groom of stole. The first is in the king to doe as hee pleases, and the other as much in his royal highness; this is very hard to be acted by the prince. Will it hurt the prince to let his father know, that he takes a groom of the stole's place to be useles as his majesty dothe, therefore he desires that expence to be saved, and to bee sunk in his family too. But as you and your brother are much better judges than I can pretend, I doe submit. This is the only alloy to the joy I have, that our wrongs are thus revenged on those two last of ministers. Forgive these rough thoughts, soe suddenly wrote on paper: they are wrote in confidence to a friend, who I have all the value and esteem for, that man can have. Ten thousand thanks for your lordship's letter. I beg my very humble service to your brother and my lord Orrery.

THOMAS

THOMAS BRERETON TO CHARLES STANHOPE.

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1716.

Excuses Secretary Stanhope.—Relates the general consternation on the removal of lord Townshend, and public censures of that measure.—Walpole pressed not to resign.—Many threaten to follow his example.—Fatal consequences of these divisions.—Jacobites elated.—Secretary Stanhope's conduct generally disapproved.—Considered as a German measure.

DEAR SIR,

London, December, 1716.

BY Friday's post, I acquainted * you with my safe arrival here, with my having delivered the dispatches with which I was charged, and slightly hinted the confusion I found every body in at the contents of 'em: I have since, by going to the court and city, had opportunitys more particularly to observe the temper of those who make up these two different parts of the town; and as I have the greatest reason to have a perfect esteem for the secretary, you will give me leave to trouble you a second time with the sentiments of those, who have his majesty's interest entirely at heart, and who wish him also the greatest prosperity. I told you in my last, the turn I gave to the surprising news I brought was, that to prevent the further torrent of the German interest, the secretary found himself for the present obliged to come into their measures so disagreeable to himself, which was relished by some persons pretty well, and I dont know, but thereby a stop was put for a while to the sinking credit of the stocks: but those transacting that way, since fearing the certainty of it, and seriously reflecting on the fatal consequences of the removal of so great a man as lord Townshend, and that that must necessarily be attended with further alterations, I will venture to say, the town is in greater confusion now, than it was in any part, or at any alterations whatsoever made in the late queen's reign, and that all publick credit will continue daily to sink till his majesty's arrival, or a further prospect that the true and honest interest of the nation will still be preserv'd and restored. Perhaps it may be disagreeable, that I tell you, when I go into the city, all the considerable men there croud about me, and press me in the most earnest manner to give some reasons for these sudden and unexpected resolutions, to tell them who I thought the advisers and contrivers of them. When I go to the court, the very great ones there, to whom I had scarce the honour of being known before, salute me, and are also very solicitous to find out the true springs and causes of what they dont scruple aloud to call these extraordinary proceedings. Nay, it has there been said already, that never was any thing more unprecedented, than for his

majesty

Harrington ton
Papers.* This letter
is missing.

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1714 to 1720.

1716.

majesty, when out of the nation, with the council of one single minister only, to make so prodigious a change in his ministry, just before the meeting of his parliament: a parliament, which 'twas to be hoped, by their unanimity and steadiness, might have brought about not only the reduction of interest upon public funds, but several other matters of the greatest importance, to the further security and quiet of his majesty's government, the very prospect of which had raised your credit to such a pitch of glory; and all these good projects, I will take upon me to pronounce, cannot even be proposed, unless the ministry is continued, and lord Townshend restored.

I still flatter myself I am right in my notions of Mr. Stanhope, and that he will preserve the ancient friendship he has professed to lord Townshend and Mr. Walpole. If he does not, give me leave to say you will see the most valuable part of his majesty's friends shew their resentment in a most generous manner. For I have reason to know not only the ministry, but the most wealthy in this metropolis, have been to intercede with Mr. Walpole not to resign his office, and have given him the strongest instances of their support and friendship; and that if he should find it consistent with his honour so to do, his example will be followed by the strongest body of the greatest subjects that ever prince had. How often dear sir, have I said to you, that the greatest bulwark against the foreign and home enemys, was the everlasting unity of lord Townshend, the secretary, and Mr. Walpole, that whilst they went hand in hand, the expectations of both were equally absurd and ridiculous, and the jacobites had very little to hope. This already appears by the gayness of the disaffected, who tho' silent ten days ago, are now as loud as ever in the coffee-houses; and I saw twenty guineas given, to be repaid with ten times the sum, when baron Price is chancellor.

Forgive me for letting you know these particulars, and impute it to my zeal for my country and my extraordinary veneration for the secretary: I must take the liberty to let you know the world crys aloud against him, and if his correspondents from hence be faithful, he must be sensible of it. All I am able to say in his vindication, avails but little, yet I require some further proofs, before I can give into opinion, that he will be guilty of that faithlessness with which he is charged: for God's sake, wont he consider, be not only forfeits his private honour, but will draw upon himself a number of enemys, which he will find it impossible to subside against. The ministry looks upon this juncture as a trial between the English and German councils, and will no doubt exert themselves in a manner becoming Englishmen; and I should be very
forry

forry indeed, to find him that has preserved so steady a character hitherto, forfeit it by adhering to a new interest in opposition to those who have I will say promoted his equally with their own. I delivered the message he commanded me to Mr. Walpole. I wish I cou'd assure myself, 'twas received with that confidence that heretofore such a message wou'd have been received. Several conjectures are made from my being sent exprefs with this unwellcome alteration, (I may boldly so call it, since the whole body of the king's friends are displeased at it) but most agree that 'twas to hinder me from knowing by what councils these measures were pursued, and from having opportunities of learning what is yet intended. But my friend will permit me to say, notwithstanding the great care that was taken by him to prevent my knowledge of any of these matters, I was not so altogether ignorant of them as he may imagine; but I all along depended upon the secretary's integrity, and that another expedient was forming which wou'd have been much more consistent with his honour and profit; and you may remember, that when I was apprehensive of lord Townshend's being sent to Ireland, I expressed my concern, and hoped the secretary wou'd never be the adviser of it. All I shall say further is, that I am afraid he will find himself trick'd by a man, who tho' so unreasonable in his pretensions, has the smallest interest of any one that's admitted to his majesty's council board. Forgive me dear sir, for taking up so much of your time; but I should think myself unworthy the future favour of Mr. Stanhope, if I flattered him, or forbore to let him know things as they are: perhaps those who have greater expectations from him, will be cautious how they do this; but I shall always chuse to give a faithfull account of things, tho' disagreeable, rather than one filled with falsehood and flattery. One thing I must not omit, which is, that Mr. Micklethwaite has offered wagers, that Mr. Walpole will be out in thirty days; but notwithstanding his imprudence, I will pray that he, lord Townshend, and Mr. Stanhope may unite and remain what they have long been, a terror to king George's enemys; if they do not, I shall expect a long continuance of the present disorder and discontent, tho' I assure you, that will be to no one upon earth more disagreeable than to dear sir, &c.

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1716.

CHARLES STANHOPE TO THOMAS BRERETON.

Reproves him for his mistaking the motives of secretary Stanhope's conduct, and for his ill-judged zeal.—Considers the removal of lord Townshend to the lord lieutenancy of Ireland, a promotion, not a disgrace.

Harrington
Papers.

I Have received your two letters, and am, I confess, concerned to find your zeal for the public not so well directed, as I am satisfied it might have been, by those you have lately conversed with, had they thought it for their advantage to have it so; but as I never pretend to make converts against people's inclinations, I shall wave talking deeply with you upon this subject, and endeavour always to agree with you in things more indifferent to us both. I cannot, however, but take notice, that the turn you say you used in excuse of the secretary, for I think you do not say you made it yourself, might full as well have been let alone, since it is founded upon a groundless supposition, and which at the same time is very prejudicial, and as I think of things, injurious to the king, for whose honour and interest all sides would, I thought, have willingly been supposed to have a regard. I believe, when you are as cool as I am, you will see as I do, that what you call this prodigious change in the ministry, is the removal of one man from a great place to a greater; the rest which is done, being only the advancement of some persons, who have deserved well of their country, and are unexceptionable to all: and this without the turning out of any one man; and that the fall of stocks, which you mention in both your letters, and say that by that the resentment of the city is shewn upon this occasion, tho' uncertain from whence it proceeds, yet certainly amounts to not one per cent. which you know very often happens without any reason at all. Nor will I, till you are cooler, pretend to prove to you, that a king may without injustice, and such as ought to be resented by all good subjects, remove one subject from a good post to a better, unless he shall at the same time explain to that servant, and to all his fellow servants the reasons why he thought it for his service that it should be so. If it is suggested that more removes are intended, I can assure you there are persons of your acquaintance in England, who know better; and if they disguise it from the world, they do not use that candour they have been thought to be masters of. As to the insinuations in your letter concerning the secretary, since we are upon a foot of freedom together, and telling our private thoughts, I cannot help observing to you, that it is in no respect becoming you

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you to give into them. I need not mention his character in the world, which doubtless will be able to support itself. But shall conclude this long letter with acquainting you, that I have obeyed your commands to the prince, who was glad to hear you was well, as I shall be to find you so in England, and to end all these variances of opinion, which seem reducible into a very narrow compass, over a bottle of true hermitage. Being, &c.

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SECRETARY STANHOPE TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Complains that his conduct has been misapprehended.—Desires him to use his influence with lord Townshend to accept the lord lieutenancy of Ireland.—Justifies his own conduct.

DEAR SIR,

Hanover, Jan. 1, 1717.

I Have received the favour of your two letters of the 12th of December, and am very sorry to find, that what I judged and meant as a service to my lord Townshend, is resented in the manner it is. I delivered my lord Townshend's letter to the king; and instead of representing his lordship's refusal to his prejudice, I have procured his majesty's commands to repeat this offer to his lordship, and I rather choose to mention it to you, than to write directly to his lordship as yet. In the mean time I am commanded to acquaint you, that Ireland will be kept open till the king comes to England, and I cannot help telling you, that I think you cannot do your king, your country, and my lord Townshend a more signal service, than by prevailing with his lordship to accept of it. If you can suggest to me any method by which it may still more plainly and evidently appear, that the king's intention and desire was, that he should be lord lieutenant of Ireland; I shall be obliged to you, and will certainly convince you, that you have judged hardly of your humble servant, in supposing it was not meant so. I do not write to my lord, because I fear, that any thing which comes from me, at this time, will only irritate. But I do pray you to communicate to him, what I have in command from his majesty, in relation to this business. I have as just a value for old friends as is possible, and I cannot, I confess, discover that I have been guilty of a breach of friendship, in procuring the offer of Ireland, at a time when the king was determined he should not be secretary.

Harrington
Papers.

Draught.

I wish it had been as easy for me to have got ridd of my office of secretary,

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1717.

as I will venture to affirm, it was impossible to have kept lord Townshend so. Ought I, either in my own name or in the name of the whiggish party, to have told the king, that my lord Townshend must continue to be secretary of state, or that I, nor any other of our friends, would have any thing to do. I really have not yet learnt to speak such language to my master; and I think a king is very unhappy, if he is the only man in the nation, who cannot challenge any friendship from those of his subjects, whom he thinks fit to employ. I think more is not required from a man in behalf of his friend, than in behalf of himself. And I can assure you, that it would be impossible for me to bring myself to tell the king I won't serve him, unless he give me just the employment which I like best, tho' at the same time he either gives or continues to me an employment much more honourable and beneficial than that which I had a fancy for. You alarm me, and I fear with too much truth, with the consequences of this step, which may prove very fatal, and create a division amongst the whiggs. But pray, at whose door must this resentment be laid? I hope that you will grow cooler on your side; that even my lord Townshend will sacrifice his resentment to the public good. And I would then gladly know what cause or colour of uneasiness there can be to any honest man. I heartily wish you may well consider all circumstances, and promote that union amongst well meaning men, which is necessary. No one man in the world can do so much good as yourself; and give me leave to say, no one man will, I think, have more to answer for to his country, if you do not heartily endeavour to make up these breaches. That I have never been wanting in any kind of friendly office to you; I am perfectly conscious to myself; and I am sure, that my interest, as well as inclination, lead me to wish the continuance of a friendship I ever valued. Pray excuse me to your brother Horace, to whom I am sincerely a well wisher, though he be very angry with me. I am, &c.

SECRETARY STANHOPE TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Denies that any other removal is intended.—Hopes that he will have no thoughts of quitting his place in the treasury, and trusts that their friendship will continue.

DEAR SIR,

Hanover, Jan. 3, 1716—17.

Harrington
Papers.

Draught.

HAVING sent by last post an answer to your letters of the 12th instant; this serves chiefly to cover a duplicate of the same letter which goes by a messenger for fear of accidents. Upon reading over your letters again, I wonder what could induce you to make use of one expression. You caution

us

us to stopp our hands, and to proceed no further in changes, when both lord Sunderland and I had told you in the strongest terms we could, that no other alteration was thought of, or intended; unless your quitting your employment should have made it absolutely necessary to fill it. At the same time, I think I could not express in words more strong than I did, how much I desired that might not happen. Notwithstanding the passion you were in when you writt, I am very glad you expressed no thoughts of leaving the king's service, and I will even flatter myself that you will still prevail upon lord Townshend to accept Ireland, and that we may continue to live and act for the king's service, with the same friendship and union which has been. I think it more respectful to my lord Townshend, that I should not write to him to acquaint him with the king's repeating the offer of Ireland, till I hear from you, who are more likely to prevail. I am, &c.

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1717.

* SECRETARY STANHOPE TO SECRETARY METHUEN.

Requests him to continue in office.—Represents the ill consequences which must result from his resignation—and entreats him to use his influence to prevail on lord Townshend to accept the lord lieutenancy.—Declares that the king would rather abdicate, than reinstate lord Townshend.

DEAR SIR,

Hanover, Jan. 13, 1716—17.

I Am favoured with three private letters from you, two of the 12th and one of the 14th of December. The intercepted letters are indeed very curious, and you may depend upon it, that I will take particular care to bring over every one that has been sent hither; and I have informed his majesty, that you will continue the method my lord Townshend had taken in relation to this secret correspondence. As to the business of the Scotch signet, you have certainly done very right. The duke of Roxburghe had writ to me about it, and I had yesterday received the king's commands before your letter came. I am sorry that Pringle suffers by this, and shall be extremely glad if he can suggest any proper thing for himself, which I do assure you, I will very heartily endeavour to procure for him.

Harrington
Papers.
Draught.
Private.

As to your other letter concerning yourself, I am more at a loss how to understand, or how to answer it. What I have writ to you in my publick dispatch of this day, will sufficiently inform you of the king's sentiments touching you, and how little disposed he is to take any thing you have writ amiss. He desires and expects you will continue where you are, and every thing you say to excuse yourself,

Period II.
1714 to 1720.
1717.

yourself, is a farther argument for the king to wish it. I am but too sensible of the many difficukys the king is like to labour under, and I protest before God, that no consideration upon earth, but my attachment to his majesty, would engage me to go on in this life. But I do really think, that one does owe something to one's prince, and to so good a prince. He thinks fit to remove one servant from a worse to a better post. Is this a reason for others to abandon him? I am sure, that if it had happened to yourself to be turned out, and without any colour of reason, you would not in your own case, let your resentment carry you to any indecent behaviour, much less would you spirit up mankind to such divisions, as must end in the destruction of your country, if not prevented. Do some people expect by their behaviour to force the king to make my lord Townshend secretary again? if they do, they dont know him; if they do not, what do they propose? I writ last night to Walpole, by the king's command, and repeated the offer of Ireland to my lord Townshend. Whoever wishes well to his king, to his country, and to my lord Townshend, ought to persuade him still to accept of it. I hope Walpole, upon cooler thoughts, will use his endeavours to this end, and Ireland will be kept open till the king's return. If you have any interest or credit with them, for God's sake make use of it upon this occasion. They may possibly unking their master, or (which I do before God think very possible) make him abdicate England; but they will certainly not force him to make my lord Townshend secretary. I will not enter into the reasons which have engaged the king to take this measure, but 'tis taken, and I will ask any whigg, whether the difference to the public between one man's being secretary, or lord lieutenant of Ireland, is of such consequence, that we ought to hazard every thing for the resentment of one man? Pardon me, dear sir, for venting myself thus freely. I am writing to one of the very few honest men of our country, and 'tis to such that we must owe our salvation, if we are to be saved. The king will set out in ten days; God willing. I am ever, &c.

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M. DE SLINGELANDT * TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Period II.

1714 to 1720.

Expresses his regret that lord Townshend had declined the lord lieutenancy of Ireland.—Trusts and hopes that he will not withdraw from the public service; and describes the ill consequences of such a conduct.

1717.

MY LORD,

à la Haye le 5 Jan. 1716—17.

D'ABORD que j'ai appris la nouvelle de votre démission, j'en étois si frappé que j'hésitois, si je garderois le silence, ce que l'amitié dont vous m'honorez sembloit ne pas me permettre; ou si je vous écrivois; bien assuré que votre démission ne peut être attribuée qu'à une intrigue de cour, ou à la mesintelligence entre le roy et le prince; et la voyant d'ailleurs accompagnée d'une démonstration authentique de la considération que le roy continue d'avoir pour vous, en vous offrant un poste de tant de confiance et d'honneur, que la vice-royauté d'Irlande, j'étois incertain de quel oeil vous regarderiez ce changement; quoique je ne puisse le regarder que comme préjudiciable au bien des affaires, tant de votre pais que du nôtre; connoissant et vos talens et vos principes. Mais depuis que j'ai appris que vous refusez la vice-royauté, je ne puis plus douter que vous ne regardiez ce changement comme une disgrâce, et comme une raison de vous éloigner de la cour et des affaires.

Townshend
Papers.

Je vous avoue my lord, que cela m'a causé une véritable douleur, car quoique vos sentimens ne soient trop connus pour craindre, que vous soyez capable d'agir par un principe de ressentiment; le roi n'en sera pas moins privé d'un conseiller de votre suffisance et capacité, et la division entre les principaux membres du bon parti (division dont les suites sont tant à craindre) ne s'en augmentera pas moins, et se terminera peut être en schisme déclaré. C'est du moins ce que nous autres étrangers appréhendons, et ce que les ennemis de votre constitution souhaitent. C'est à la vérité un doux plaisir de se faire regretter par ceux de même dont on croit avoir souffert du tort; mais vous ne pouvez pas vous faire regretter, my lord, sans que le public en souffre d'avance; et je vous connois trop d'amour pour le bien public, pour ne pas sacrifier à cet amour tout ce que pourroit flatter votre amour propre.

C'est pour toutes ces considérations, qu'usant du privilege que l'amitié donne, je prens la liberté de vous supplier, my lord, de ne pas vous rendre inutile à votre roi et à votre patrie, mais au contraire de donner en cette rencontre une preuve éclatante que rien ne peut vous détourner d'employer les grands talens dont

* A leading man in the republic, afterwards pensionary of Holland.

Dieu

Period II. Dieu vous a donné, au véritable usage pour le quel vous les avez reçus, c'est à dire au service du public. L'on vient de signer l'alliance avec la France.
1714 to 1720.
1717. Elle peut avoir d'heureuses suites, si vous demeurez bien unis en Angleterre; sans quoi vous perdrez votre credit ici, et cesserez aussi bien que nous d'être respectable à la France.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO M. SLINGELANDT.

Vindicates his conduct against the charge of delaying the signature of the alliance with France.—Of caballing with the duke of Argyle.—Of supporting the interests of the prince of Wales in opposition to the king.—And of counteracting the scheme of northern politics.

SIR,

Jan. 1—12, 1716—17.

**Townshend
Papers.**

Draught.

I Have receiv'd the honour of your letter, and much oblig'd to you for the kind part you are pleas'd to take in my late disgrace; the friendship which you express upon this occasion, cannot but be the more valuable to me, for those sentiments of honour and publick spiritedness, with which I find it animated; and it is no small satisfaction to me to reflect, that as long as I steddily pursue these good ends (which I have ever esteem'd to be their own great reward) I shall have the pleasure, in spite of the malicious endeavours of my enemies, to secure to myself the friendship of one, whose favourable opinion, I look upon as the most honourable testimony my actions can receive. That ill impressions, therefore, occasioned by flying reports, may not rob me of any part of so valuable a friendship, I shall take the liberty to communicate to you, under the greatest confidence, all the causes of my late disgrace that have yet been alledg'd, and are come to my knowledge; which are of such a nature as will, I flatter myself, make it easy for me to justify to you, the resolution I have taken, of declining the offer made me of the lieutenancy of Ireland.

The first occasion of the king's expressing any displeasure against me (that I know of) was for sending over the full powers to lord Cadogan and Mr. Walpole, drawn up in general terms, without making express mention of the treaty with France; which omission, having been laid hold of by the abbé du Bois, as a pretence for his delaying to sign the treaty, was represented to his majesty as contriv'd by me, on purpose to gain time, till the States could be ready to sign in conjunction with Great Britain; and thus I was once more to suffer for too great a compliance with Holland. I must confess, that in my own private opinion, I thought what was done by Mr. Stanhope and the abbé du Bois at Hanover,

Period II.
1714 to 1720.
1717.

Hanover, made it unnecessary for us to sign separately again at the Hague; and that it would carry a much better appearance for the ministers of his majesty and the States to sign the treaty at one and the same time. But his majesty having expressed his pleasure otherwise, without ever desiring to know my sentiments as to this point, I did not offer my opinion to the contrary, and was so far from designing (by such a pitiful artifice and evasion) to elude the king's intentions, that I made no manner of doubt, but the treaty would have been signed directly, in virtue of those full powers, which were allow'd to be sufficient by monsieur d'Iberville, lord Cadogan, and all who are versed in forms of that nature. And indeed the true reason of my choosing to have them drawn in general terms, was, that if the king should think it necessary to have his ministers sign separately, before those of the States, that separate instrument might (according to his majesty's intentions) be afterwards perfectly sunk upon our signing altogether, and no footsteps of any such order appear in the full powers whenever they should come to be made publick together with the treaty. However, upon the first intimation of the abbé's objection, without waiting for his majesty's orders, I immediately procur'd a new full power in the form desir'd by the abbé, and gott it pass'd through the several offices, and dispatch'd in one day's time. My conduct therefore in this particular, was so clear and so justifiable, that my enemies failed in this attempt; for upon a full representation of these facts to his majesty, he was pleas'd to express himself entirely satisfied.

Another reason of his majesty's displeasure, I am told, has been my suppos'd caballing with the duke of Argyll, and undertaking to procure his reconciliation with the king; in relation to which, I can safely affirm, that since the king's leaving England, I have never had the least conversation with the duke of Argyll (otherwise than accidentally at court, in the eye and hearing of every body) except once at his request, from which he parted highly dissatisfied with my brother Walpole and me, for having tutour'd him (as he called it) for two hours together. And indeed, the whole subject of our conversation was to convince him, that the only possible method for him ever to hope to recover the king's favour, was to shew an entire submission to his majesty, and to behave himself without any signs of resentment in parliament; not undertaking however, either directly or indirectly to effect his reconciliation upon these or any other terms; and all the representation that ever was made in his behalf, was only this, that when my brother Horace Walpole was sent by the prince to Hanover, I desired him to tell Mr. Stanhope in confidence, that I thought it would facilitate the king's service in parliament, if the duke of Argyll's family and

Period II.
1714 to 1720.

1717.

and dependants were not made absolutely desperate, but had some distant hopes given them, that upon behaving themselves well in parliament, there would be a possibility of their meriting his majesty's favour again; which however, I desired might be left to Mr. Stanhope to mention to the king, or wholly to drop as he should think most adviseable.

But the last and blackest imputation is what is contain'd in a letter, which I have seen, under lord Sunderland's own hand, of the same date with those which brought my dismissal, in which he directly charges the lord chancellor, my brother Walpole, and me, with having entered into engagements with the prince and duke of Argyll, and form'd designs against the king's authority. The fatal consequences of any misunderstanding between the king and prince are so very obvious, and the bare insinuation of such a design as is implied in lord Sunderland's letter, is a charge of so high and extensive a nature, that it is hard to conceive how so much villany and infatuation could possess the heart of any man as to suggest such an infamous accusation, not only without evidence, but without the least colour or pretence. Since it will be easy to make it appear from every step of the prince's behaviour, that he has confined himself strictly to the limitations prescrib'd by the king his father; and that he has never exercised the least power of any kind without taking respective opinions and advice of those in whose hands the king thought fit to leave the several offices and departments of public business. And considering the misrepresentations under which, I with several others of his majesty's servants, had the misfortune to labour with the prince, at the time when the king left England, I cannot but think it a particular service to his majesty's affairs, as well as my own great happiness, that I found means by my assiduity with the prince, to efface those ill impressions which had been given him of me, and which must otherwise have prov'd a great obstruction to the public service. And I defy my lord Sunderland, or any one else, to produce one single instance of my having made an ill use of the confidence with which his royal highness was pleas'd to honour me, or of the prince's having invaded the regal prerogative in any the minutest branch, or having deviated in any particular of his behaviour, since his majesty's leaving England, from that entire duty and submission which he ought always to shew towards the king his father; and I must own to you, that instead of expecting this unjust and scandalous imputation (which if true, would require much harder usage than what I have met with) I had the vanity to think, that no service which I ever perform'd to his majesty, was equally meritorious with that of having had some
small

small share in cultivating in his royal highness those good dispositions, which alone could have made the king and the nation easy during his majesty's absence.' Period II.
1714 to 1720.
1717.

You will not wonder, therefore, if when instead of having these fond expectations answer'd, I found myself removed from being secretary, and this removal grounded on a charge of the highest nature, by a person so near the king as lord Sunderland; I thought it no ways consistent with my reputation, to accept of the offer his majesty was pleas'd to make me of the lieutenancy of Ireland, which post I must have refused at any other time; my private affairs not permitting me to remove to Ireland, any more than common honesty would, allowing me to put the profits of that employment in my pocket, without going over to do the duty's of it. So that upon the whole, I am satisfied you will agree with me in thinking, that after being turn'd out of the secretary's office in such a manner, my accepting the lieutenancy of Ireland, under the circumstances abovemention'd, would have appear'd to the world like a confession of some degree of guilt, and a tacit compounding for pardon; which far from enabling me to serve my country, must have robb'd me of all means of ever doing good hereafter, either in a private or public station.

These are all the reasons I have yet heard alledg'd for my disgrace. Lord Sunderland, indeed, did sometime ago write me a letter in one of his frenzy fits, in which he lays down very extraordinary notions, and such doubts as he will find very impracticable as far as they relate to this country, upon the subject of the northern affairs: but I made him no answer to his letter, and having never been acquainted with the king's scheme as to those affairs, neither in whole or in part, I suppose I am not punish'd for not acquiescing in what was never yet communicated to me. However, though these are the topics given out by my enemies, I am far from thinking that they are the true and original causes of my disgrace. I believe the dukes of Munster, Mr. Bernstoff and Mr. Robethon, could give a much more exact and authentic account of the real causes that produced this event, if they thought it as much for their own service, as it might be for my credit to have the whole mystery of this alteration laid open.

I hope what has been said, will be sufficient to convince you, that I have not hitherto acted upon a principle of private passion and resentment on this occasion; and I promise you faithfully, that nothing of that kind, shall ever with me, stand in competition with the good of the public, or with that desirable union, on which that publick good is founded.

Period II. My duty, my honour, and my interest, do all of them attach me to the king
 1714 to 1720. and his service; one undutiful action towards him, or my opposing his real service in the minutest particular, would be giving the lye to all I have been doing, ever since I came into the world. I beg you would communicate this letter
 1717. to no soul living, except it be to our common friend the pensionary. *

* Heinfius.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

General discontent at lord Townshend's removal.—Sanguine expectations of the tories, jacobites, and discontented whigs.—Stanhope's dependants, busy and impertinent.—Requests that no further offer of the lord lieutenancy may be made to lord Townshend till the king's return.

DEAR SIR,

London, Jan. 1—12, 1716—17.

Stanhope
Papers.

I Have the favour of your's of the 1st instant, N. S. and am glad to find you seem to be in a little better temper than you were, and believe me, if you were here, you would be ten times more sensible, than any representations from hence can possibly make of the ill effects of what is a doing. The universal discontent and apprehensions of all that wish well, is more than can be expected, and I doe assure you, this is not owing to any industry or endeavours of those that may be thought more nearly concerned. The spirit of the tories and jacobites is at the same time reviv'd beyond measure, and has had this effect allready, that summonses are sent into all parts of England to make a general muster, when 'tis certain they had no thoughts before of giving any trouble this sessions; I must farther acquaint you, that the discontented whigs flatter themselves, that the game is now their own, and are disposing and dividing of all the employments with an air of authority, which you may easily imagine, gives great credit and weight to those in possession. I cannot forbear telling you, that some immediate creatures and dependants of your's, are the most busy and impertinent in all parts of the town; I have said thus much in short, that you may be truly inform'd of the state of affairs. If you have any other accounts from hence, you are abus'd, and depend upon it, you will find the sense of every man in England of any consideration, that you ever had any esteem for, or that deserves the least regard, to be the same.

When I have said this, I will not enter into any reasoning or argumentation with you at this distance, but think, you must be sensible, that a great deal of what you say, is not to be supported in a conversation betwixt old friends. We very well understand the language of ministers, but when this matter comes to be

be canvass'd with freedom and liberty, you will be sensible of more than 'tis proper to write.

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1714 to 1720.
1717.

In the mean time, as to what immediately concerns my lord Townshend, I must only beg at present, that you will prevent a second hardship being putt upon him, by a second offer of the lieutenancy of Ireland, and since you say, that the king commanded you to acquaint me, that Ireland shall be kept open till his majesty comes into England, there can be no difficulty in this, or at least no necessity of doing any thing till his Majesty's arrivall.

You will give me leave to think it a little hard when you say, no one man will have more to answer for to his country, than I may have. I agree with you, if I do not honestly endeavour to make up these breaches, I shall be very much to blame; but if what has been done, or is still to be fear'd, have or shall make that impossible, the weight will fall elsewhere, and be a burthen too heavy to bear. Lett me use your own words; you must grow cooler on your side, consider all circumstances, and remember that in England, the manner of doing things is often more to be regarded than the thing is itself, and I am confident I shall be able to convince you when we meet, that my lord Townshend's case can be consider'd in no other light. I can give no advice, but repeat what I said before; take care that nothing more be done, till you are upon the spot: I think you will alter your sentiments with the climate, if you have not drank deeper of the bowle than I am willing to believe. For as I lived with you so many years in intimacy and freindship, I shall be glad still to live and dye upon that foot, and shall with great pleasure see you deliver'd from imputations, it would grieve you to think of. I will do my part, and if you will do yours, it seems possible to retrieve the most fatall step, that ever was taken: that all may go well, is my sincere wishes, and I am, with all possible truth dear sir, your most faithfull humble servant.

SECRETARY STANHOPE TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Will follow his advice not to make any further offer of the lord lieutenancy to lord Townshend.—Is ready with lord Sunderland to conciliate matters.—Earnestly entreats him to prevail on lord Townshend to comply.—And promises in the king's name, to permit his lordship in due time to exchange that place for another.—Justifies his own conduct.

DEAR SIR,

Hague, January the 16th, 1717.

I Have received this morning the favour of your's of the 1st instant, O. S. and I shall follow the advice you are pleased to give me, of writing nothing to

Stanhope
Papers.
Copy.

Period II. 1714 to 1720. 1717. lord Townshend touching Ireland, which as I told you, his majesty will keep open till his arrival. Since you seem to lay a greater stress upon the manner in which this offer was made than upon the thing itself, I hope you have been turning it in your thoughts, how any thing which may have been taken amiss in the manner, may be set right; and whenever you will be pleased to suggest any thing of that kind, which may be consistent with the king's dignity, and the firm resolution he has taken of supporting what he has done, I shall most willingly and heartily employ my best endeavours to make my lord Townshend easy, and so will my lord Sunderland. But tho' I will not repeat to my lord Townshend, in the king's name, the offer of Ireland, till you allow me so to do, I must, and do for the king's sake, for that of the whiggs, and of my lord Townshend himself, most earnestly repeat to you my entreaties, that you will dispose my lord Townshend to accept of it. I am at liberty to assure you, in the king's name, that when my lord Townshend shall have accepted of Ireland, if in six months or in a twelvemonth, he should like better, some other post at home in the cabinet council, that his majesty will very readily approve of any scheme that his servants shall concert for placing my lord Townshend where he shall like. At the same time, I have procured liberty from the king, to declare thus much to you. Believe me dear Walpole, when I swear it to you, that I do not think it possible for all the men in England to prevail upon the king to readmit my lord Townshend into his service, upon any other terms than of complying with the offer made of Ireland. The king will exact from him this mark of duty and obedience. I do assure you, that I am not at present in a passion, I tell you very coolly what in my conscience I think, I leave it to you to make such use as you shall think fit of this very true information; and I will hope, that being thus informed, you will prevent things from being pushed to extremities, which I dread to think of.

For God's sake, is not a lord lieutenant of Ireland of the cabinet council? has he not the same access to the king, whenever he pleases, as any other minister whatsoever? will not my lord Townshend's talents, and the just esteem which every body in the council must have for him, give him a share in business, for ought I know greater, I am sure at least, less invidious than he had before? will not he be constantly in the way of effacing, by his behaviour, any impressions made to his prejudice? if I were not still sincerely a well wisher to his lordship, and did not think it probable, that I should again live well with him, I would not press you at this rate upon this point; I would quietly suffer him to indulge his resentment, which must end in the ruin of his and his friends

friends interest at court, as long as this king lives, which, give me leave to tell you, he is like to do many years.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.
1717.

As to the apprehensions you mention, to have been very general of a change, you know as well as I, what foundation there has been for them, and whether the refusal of my lord Townshend has not given occasion to them. I will not imagine, since you say it, that any of your friends have used any industry or endeavours to begett such a ferment. I will rather hope, that you, knowing with so much certainty, that not one remove was intended by the king, will have endeavoured to quiet and calm this ill grounded jealousy. I doe not know that I have any creatures or dependants, whose behaviour I can govern, or be answerable for, but this I know, that I have not directly or indirectly, either myself or by any other person, writt or caused to be writt one syllable since this business has been on foot, except to yourself, and once to Mr. Methuen. I know not what you mean by having drank deep of the bowle, I have already acquainted you with what I judge and know to be the king's sentiments upon this business. Whilst I am his servant, I will, to the utmost of my ability, support his dignity, which, amongst many other good things, I have learnt to do from lord Townshend; and I shall not in so doing, value or fear any imputation. It will appear to the world in due time, whether any motive of ambition or interest has governed me in this business, and whether I hadd not most effectually served those who are at present most angry with me, if their own passion did not hinder the good effects of what was well designed. I have, dear Walpole, a very clear conscience, and whilst I am conscious to myself of well doing, I have learnt to be very easy in mind, whatever other people think of me. I am, with great truth, &c.

BARON DE WASSENAAR DUVENVOIRDE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Excuses Sunderland and Stanhope.—Represents the danger to be apprehended from a division among the whigs.—Exhorts him to accept the lord lieutenancy.

MY LORD,

De la Haye ce 19 de Jan. 1717.

ATRIBUEZ toujours, s'il vous plaist à mon zèle pour le bien public et à mon attachement à ce qui vous reguarde, la lberié que je prens de vous entretenir sur un sujet dans lequel je ne devrois pas me mesler sans ces considerations. J'ay eû journellement des conversations avec my lord Sunderland et M. Stanhope depuis qu'ils sont à la Haye, et très particulièrement aujourd'hui qu'ils ont dînez chez moy. Il seroit inutile de vous parler de leurs sentimens,

Townshend
Papers.

Period II. 1714 to 1720. 1717. sentimens, puisque M. Stanhope les a mandez amplement à M. Walpole; permettez moy de vous dire, que comme je leur parle le plus fortement que je puis, sur le danger de brouiller le bon parti, je crois devoir vous en entretenir aussi, en vous suppliant d'en bien peser les consequences. La malheureuse diffension vient par de faux rapports, dont ces Messieurs s'excusent, et pretendent que le roy a appris par d'autres les sujets qui l'ont portez à faire ce qu'il a fait. S. M. peut s'estre determinée sans un mur examen de choses; mais ayant pris son parti, on croit que sa dignité et le point d'honneur ne veulent pas, qu'elle aie le dementi de ce qu'elle a fait, mais qu'estant mieux éclaircie, elle peut entièrement vous rendre les bonnes graces. Les deux Messieurs m'assurent, que S. M. est dans cette disposition, et qu'eux le souhaitent et le désirent très ardemment, s'offrant dy'contribuer de tout leur pouvoir. Ils m'assurent aussi, que si vous avez la complaisance de ceder en ceci à la volonté du roy en acceptant la viceroiauté d'Irlande; S. M. vous donnera dans peu de temps toutes les marques de sa faveur, que vous voudrez demander ou souhaiter.

Je vous répète encor, my lord, ce que j'ay pris la liberté de vous dire dans ma précédente, que si vous pouviez vous résoudre d'accepter la viceroiauté, vous seriez dans peu de temp en estat de faire voir la fausseté de ce qu'on a dit contre vous à S. M. de vous remettre dans sa confiance, et d'avoir plus de credit que vous n'avez jamais eu, à la honte de ceus qui vous ont nui, et qui seroient peut estre bien aise, que vous prissiez le parti opposé, en vous retirant, ou temoignant du mécontentement. Pardonnez à mon zèle et au devouement avec lequel j'ai l'honneur d'estre, &c.

BARON DE WASSENAAR DUVENVOIRDE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Apologizes for Sunderland and Stanhope.—Informs him of the king's kind intentions.—Renews his solicitations to accept the lord lieutenancy.

MY LORD,

De la Haye ce 26 Jan. 1717.

Townshend
Papers.

JE me suis trouvé honoré ce matin par celle que vous avez eu la bonté de m'écrire le 11 de ce mois V. S. je crois presqu' inutile que je vous parle d'avantage sur la malheureuse division que va causer dans le bon parti ce qui vous est arrivé, puisque le roy peut estre arrivé à Londres devant celle ci, et que vous ferez éclairci par le roy mesme, et par M. de Bernsdorf des intentions du roy à votre égard. M. de l'Hermitage vous aura déjà dit que c'est par l'abus de my lord Cadogan, que je me suis trompé, quand j'ay mandé, que vous aviez écrit en faveur du duc d'Argyl. J'espère que M. de l'Hermitage

mitage s'est acquitté de cette commission, afin que vous ne croiez pas que my lord Sunderland m'a dit cette fausseté. My lord Cadogan passant un peu Period II.
1714 to 1720.
1717. vifite sur toute chose n'a pas fait la distinction sur l'écrire, et le message qu'a fait de vôtre part M. de Walpole. M. de Stanhope m'a délabufé, dès que je luy ay mandé ce que vous aviez écrit, et en quel termes.

Mais mon cher my lord, je foudraite de toute mon ame, que les éclairciffemens que vous recevrez à l'arrivée du roy pourront faire évanouir les diffenfions. Je fçais que S. M. est réfolve de vous donner des marques de fon affection, et de vous faire offrir par M. de Berensdorff tout ce que vous voudrez defirer en cas que vous ayez la complaifance présentement d'accepter la viceroiauté d'Irlande. Le vieux miniftre m'a long tems entretenu fur vôtre fujet, et m'a affeuré qu'il emploiera tout ce qui dépendra de lui de vous rendre fatisfait; défirant que pour le présent vous acceptiez la viceroiauté. En ce cas toutes les choses refteroient dans la même fuation, et il n'y auroit aucun autre changement dans toutes les charges, que lorsque dans la fuite vous voudriez trocquer la viceroiauté contre quelqu' autre: toutes ces affurances vous feront faites.

Ce n'est pas à moy et à vos autres amis d'icy de vous parler de ce qui regarde vos intérêts, mais pardonnéz moi fi je prens la liberté de vous dire que nous croions que c'est l'intérêt public que vous vous accomodiez à ce que le roy defire, la chose pourroit estre confiderée dans le monde comme un point d'honneur entre S. M. et vous, puisqu'il y a une démonftration publique que le roy conferve pour vous de bonnes intentions, et que ce n'est que par quelqu' accident fans doute mal interprété, que S. M. vous a ôtez les fceaux de fecretaire d'Etat, lesquels S. M. croit ne pouvoir vous rendre fans faire tort à fa dignité et à fa réputation. My lord Sunderland M. Stanhope et M. de Berensdorff m'ont fort affourée que my lord Sunderland n'a rien contribué contre vous: j'efpère qu'il pourra vous perfuader de ceci, et que tous ceus qui font intéreffez dans la lettre qu'il a eu l'imprudence d'écrire à my lord Orford oublient ce qui y est contenu, afin que la paix et l'union foient reftables dans le parti, et que les malintentionnez ne profitent point de vôtre défunion. Il me femble que cette confideration doit prevaloir contre toute autre, même contre celle qu'infpire le refentiment le plus juft. Il faudroit estre bien feur de ne pouvoir pas nuire à la bonne caufe ou à la patrié, avant que de prendre des mefures qui portent à la diffention entre les amis. La chose est fi importante, qu'on doit bien la pefer et même fans partialité de crainte qu'on rifque.

Vous

Period II.
1714 to 1720.
1717. Vous êtes si éclairé et si sage, my lord, que vous pénétrez mieux que qui que ce soit toute chose. Dieu veuille que tous ensemble vous preniez le parti le plus avantageux à votre patrie et à la bonne cause, je fais ce vœu avec d'autant plus d'ardeur, que je suis persuadé que le bonheur de ma patrie dépend de celui de l'Angleterre. Je vous demande pardon encore de la liberté que je prends de vous entretenir derechef sur cet important sujet; et j'ose me flatter que vous ne le trouvez pas mauvais; étant assuré que je le fais par zèle pour le bien public et pour le vôtre en particulier, qui me sera toujours à cœur comme le mien propre.

Je ne vous parle pas des nouvelles, du voyage du roy, de la négociation rompue avec le czar, persuadez que je suis que vous en êtes entièrement instruit par les relations. Nous avons espéré de revoir icy M. de Walpole durant l'absence de my lord Cadogan; mais j'apprens qu'il y a un Leathes de Bruxelles que nous ne connaissons guère, qui sera chargé des affaires, s'il y en a d'importantes nous serons embarrassés. Il est impossible d'avoir d'abord confiance dans une personne qu'on ne connaît point. Si je pouvais être assez heureux d'avoir une conversation de bouche avec vous, je pourrais vous faire souvenir de ce que je vous ai dit quelque fois sur le sujet de certaines personnes; et je suis le plus trompé du monde si vous ne trouveriez juste ce que vous aviez de la peine à croire alors. Il y a certains caractères qui une fois reconnus se découvrent tôt ou tard dans les occasions. Mais, my lord, je crains d'en trop dire, et je vous importune trop long temps. Au nom de Dieu oubliez les sujets de plainte que vous pourriez avoir, et ne consultez que le bien public. Vous êtes un grand homme; vous êtes estimé; vous serez plus grand homme encore, et vous serez estimé d'avantage; personne ne s'intéresse plus véritablement en ce qui vous regarde que moi; ni personne est avec plus de respect et de sincérité, my lord, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

SECRETARY STANHOPE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Signifies his dismissal from the lord lieutenancy of Ireland.

MY LORD,

Cock-Pitt, April 9, 1717.

Townshend
Papers.

THE king, judging it for his service to dispense with your lordship's service, as lord lieutenant of Ireland, I am commanded to signify his majesty's pleasure to your lordship upon it. His majesty is sorry that many circumstances render this alteration necessary at present; he commands me to assure
your

your lordship, that he will never forget your past services; and you'll give me leave to say, that I shall be very glad of an occasion of writing to your lordship upon a more agreeable subject, as being with great respect, &c.

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1714 to 1720.
1717.

HORACE WALPOLE TO THE REV. H. ETOUGH.

Anecdote of Sir Robert Walpole on his resignation in 1717.

DEAR ETOUGH,

Wolterton, October 12, 1751.

I Am obliged to you for your favour of the 2d instant; and entirely agree with you, that your opinion of the possibility, or if you please, the probability of my late brother's removal, had the late king lived, is very excusable, and could be no dishonour to him; and I should not have mentioned this trifle any more, had it not been to set you right in one of your arguments, wherein you are mistaken, and there is an anecdote of some curiosity relating to it. You say that, *He that could be worked upon to turn him out, immediately after his services, in and consequent to the rebellion of 1715, was capable of being again disposed to exchange the best for the worst of servants.* The fact is this, that profligate minister, the late lord Sunderland, had engaged those of Hanover (disappointed in their ambitious and lucrative views by the non-compliance of lord Townshend and my brother) in an intrigue to gett them removed, and had gained the lady* on their side. They at last made an impression upon his majesty, by insinuations notoriously false, to the prejudice of lord Townshend, but could not prevail with the king to remove him, untill they had made his majesty believe, that my brother would not resign on that account; and accordingly when lord Townshend was (after he had been made lord lieutenant of Ireland at Hanover, instead of secretary of state) upon his majesty's return to England, entirely dismissed, my brother waited upon the king the next day, to give up the seal as chancellor of the exchequer, at which his majesty seemed extremely surpris'd, and absolutely refused to accept it, expressing himselfe in the kindest and strongest terms, that he had no thoughts of parting with him; and in a manner begging him not to leave his service, returned the seal, which my brother had laid upon the table in the closet, into his hat, as well as I can remember, ten times. His majesty took it at last, not without expressing great concern, as well as resentment at my brother's perseverance: in which contest, among other things, he told his majesty, that, were he ever so well inclined, it was impossible to serve him faithfully with those ministers, to whom he had lately given his favor and credit.

Etough
Papers.

* The duch-
ess of Kendal.

Period. II. dit. For that they would propose to him as chancellor of the exchequer, 1714 to 1720. as well as in parliament, such things, that if he should agree to and support, 1717. he should lose his credit and reputation in the world; and should he not approve, or oppose them, he should lose his majesty's favor. For he, in his station, tho' not the author, must be answerable to his king and country for any extraordinary measure. To conclude this remarkable event, I was in the room next to the closet, waiting for my brother, and when he came out, the heat, flame, and agitation, with the water standing in his eyes, appeared so strongly in his face, and indeed all over him, that he affected every body in the room; and 'tis sayd, that they, that went into the closet immediately, found the king no less disordered: and therefore, my good friend, it was no wonder, as I told you before, that when lord Sunderland proposed the laying aside my brother, after he had been employed again, his majesty should say, he would never part with sir Robert Walpole, as long as he was willing to serve him.

1718—19.

LETTERS and PAPERS relating to the PEERAGE BILL.

LORD CHANCELLOR MIDDLETON TO LORD MONTJOY.

Endorsed by himself, "This paper I sent sealed to lord Montjoy, to shew my resolution of voting against the peerage bill, tho' told by lord S.* and the duke of B.† what the consequences of my so doing would be, almost in expresse terms."

* Lord Sunderland.
† Duke of Bolton.

Middleton Papers. (March 10, 1718-19.) I Am not at all a stranger to the probable consequences of men's speaking and acting according to their own sentiments in a certain affair: on the contrary, have had broad hints, nay plain indications what is determined to follow. I have put honour and integrity in one scale, and find it vastly to outweigh convenience; and am determined never to purchase the latter, by parting with the former: this is a fixed resolution now, when it is in my power to do the convenient thing, if I please.

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MEMORANDUM ON THE PEERAGE BILL.

Peerage Bill.

Endorsed in lord Middleton's hand-writing, "*Conversation between lord Sunderland and me about the peerage bill.*" 1718-19.

WHEN the duke of Bolton first spoke to me about the matter, then under the consideration of the house of lords, for restraining the number of peers, I did not relish the scheme; but refrained expressing myself more against it at that time, being told the king was acquainted with it, and that the ministry thought it very good for the kingdom; besides, he either had not then, or did not shew me the resolutions which were intended to be moved in the house of lords, so I was much in the dark. After the lords had passed their resolutions, I waited on him again, and continued of the same mind, but expressed myself determined not to debate or vote against a matter thought of such consequence; but could not be convinced of the reasonableness, of the thing. Middleton Papers.

On the 6th of March, lord Sunderland at Mr. Boscawen's, desired me to see him on the Sunday morning, that he might discourse me on this subject. At St. James's, he explained to me the motives and inducements the ministry had to push this matter; and I then shewed my not comprehending the reason or necessity for bringing in the intended bill; but expressed myself resolved (considering my being in the king's service) not to speak or vote against the bill. His lordship seemed to think more would be expected from me; and used words of the king's being obliged to change hands, &c. but whether he meant, that he must be obliged to change the ministry, if the bill miscarried, or to remove those of his servants, who should not be for it, he did not expressly say; tho' from the nature of the discourse, and what I was told by the duke of Bolton the first day, I am well convinced which he meant. 1719.

On 15th March, I discoursed this matter with my lord chancellor at St. James's, and expressed myself not convinced of the reasonableness of the intended bill: he was very warm for it, and seemed surprized at my being so uncomplying; but lord Coningsby coming in, broke off the conversation. The more I consider this matter, the more I am confirmed in my opinion, that the bill brought into the house of lords on 14th March, commonly called the peerage bill, is of that nature, that the commons ought not to pass it; and after having heard the arguments offered by the duke of Bolton, lord Sunderland, lord chancellor, and all that was offered in the house of lords, to induce

Period II. induce them to come to the resolutions on which the bill is founded, without
 1714 to 1720. being convinced, I think I am not like to alter.

1719.

Some words
 illegible.

26th March, lord Sunderland, at my lodging, pressed coming into the bill—the king's desire, not the act of his ministry—resents it in foreigners and others, who represent it now a contest between the king and prince—the whig administration undone, if disappointed—the whig majority preserved the constitution in queen Anne's time—this is a way to fettle it—ridiculous not to say mad things will be done hereafter, when a certain event happens—must advise the king to change hands, tho' he will * * * * * lords will consent to part with scand. magnat.—that commons may administer an oath on elections—the king will consent, crown shall not pardon before or after judgement, on impeachment—if other things can be thought of, thinks will be come into; else the bill will drop without prejudice—professed regards for me—would have me communicate it to my brother. I said I would, to him and others—desired leave to go for Ireland, and to be absent, else would be in the house, and vote with my judgement—He told me, the king would tell me his own thoughts; I offered to wait on the king, if he commanded it, after his lordship had told him, what my thoughts were, and would repeat them to him—said the prince had launched out 40,000l.—A lord offered to be bribed; poor, ill used by his father.—28th March, lord Sunderland came to me, told me he had spoke to the king, who was uneasy at my not, &c. but being urged, consented to my going to Ireland—urged it might be sometime the coming week—that I should not say on what occasion, but on my own—that I was wanted, &c.—and desired my brother would not be warm; I said I would go out of town for a few days, then return; kiss the king's hand, and go away—he desired some time this week—I promised.—Lord Coningsby, 29th March, meeting me at court, asked me, when I went for Ireland—probably, he knew it was concerted at St. James's, to have leave.

LORD CHANCELLOR MIDDLETON TO THOMAS BRODRICK.

Refuses to support the peerage bill, in answer to the solicitations of the duke of Bolton and lord Sunderland.—Duke of Bolton's coldness.

Endorsed in his own hand-writing, "The grounds and steps of the duke of Bolton's coolness to me.*"

DEAR

DEAR BROTHER,

Dublin, Dec. 14, 1719.

Peerage Bill.

1719.

Middleton
Papers.

I Am obliged to you for the account you give me of the fate of the peerage bill on Tuesday last, it was what I expected as well as wished; tho' I confesse, I was and am a good deal confounded how to account for their prudence; who after a former unsuccessfull attempt, resolved on renewing it so very soon after, without having taken a more exact muster of the troops they should be able to bring into the field on the day of battle. You know last spring, what my sentiments were on this subject, and I remember to have told you in what a manner my giving into the bill, was pressed upon me, and by whom. For fear of mistakes, I wrote down my resolution, and read it to a certain great man, which was in the words following. I cannot with honour or conscience vote for the peerage bill, it being perfectly against my judgement. I desire I may without displeasing his majesty, be absent from the house, while that bill is under consideration; not thinking it becoming me to give opposition, by voting or debating against a bill introduced and carried on as this has been. If this be too great a favour to be allowed me, I am ready, with the most dutiful submission, and without the least reluctance, to suffer any thing which I may be thought to deserve, for not being able to perceive the reasonableness or expediency of the bill. This I read on 17th March, 1718, and desired the person I read it to, that he would acquaint the king with it. He seemed much out of humour; said he was sorry, nay surprized to find me to have taken this resolution; having formerly thought I had been for the bill, but promised to acquaint lord Sunderland with it. On the 19th, I went to his house, and asked him if he had seen his Majesty; he told me he had not, but should see him that day. About an hour after, he called at my lodging, expressed great kindness for me, recommended the Old Whig* to me, and hoped I would be convinced: I gave him no reason to expect it, and so we parted. From that time, I suppose it was resolved, he should leave town without so much as letting me know it, much less giving me an opportunity of going at the time he did: and tho' I knew that he was preparing for Ireland, yet he never mentioned it to me, till after his footmen had talked with mine, of the day they meant to be ready.

* Addison's
Pamphlet.

I knew the meaning was, to try whether I would not stand it; and resolved not only to have staid in town, but to have been at the debate, and to have voted as my judgment led me: soon after his going out of town, I had a visit from lord Sunderland, by whom I was pressed on the same subject, but I continued firm; and after some expressions of concern (with a good deal of warmth) we parted:

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 1714 to 1720.
 1719.

parted: and soon after, I was told, I might prepare for Ireland, without loss of time, &c. At this time, it was not determined to drop the bill in the lords house, without sending it down to the commons. Hence arose the coolness of a certain person towards me, insomuch, that when I landed in Ireland, I found he had taken other people entirely into his bosom; and I also found, that some measures which they had resolved upon, about pushing the matter in favour of the dissenters, were so unpalatable, that they would prevent doing as much for them, as might have been attained, if no wrong steps had been taken at his first landing: but it had obtained (I suppose, from the great favour and intimacy a certain person was taken into) that an entire repeal of the test was intended; and this had taken so deep a root before I came over, that it was impossible to get people free from engagements they had mutually entered into, to go thus far and no farther; and to convince the world they were not under the direction of one man. Notwithstanding the countenance I saw given to one person, and the court paid by all the attendants of a great man to him, I went on in my constant course of carrying on the public affairs in the easiest and best manner; and by doing every thing that could be done, and assuring him, that the imaginary fears with which he had been possessed, would come to nothing; and shewing him from time to time, that what I had said, had come to pass; as on the contrary, what they had suggested, never did; I brought him to see, that I sincerely wished him well, and served him effectually; so that I think he had entirely good wishes toward me, till toward the end of the session; I mean, till after he returned from a certain place, during the recess; when I received your letter from Newmarket, which I communicated to him, and told him I was sorry to find, that every body as well as I, observed in him a coolness toward me, in comparison of the favourite. He said, I was ill used by him who wrote the letter, who he believed must be Mr. Conolly. C's.* friends; professed great kindness, &c. but when so senseless an objection as my being against the popery bill, is made the foundation of resentment, I must think otherwise. In short, I was again urged (by order) whether I should have leave given me to attend the session of parliament, and told the bill would again come in: I said, I had rather remain here, then go over and disoblige (as I certainly should) in that particular. From that time, I take it, the fixed and grounded distaste is taken. This is written for your own satisfaction.

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1720.

1720.

LORD CHANCELLOR MIDDLETON TO THOMAS BRODRICK.

Duke of Bolton to be succeeded in the lord lieutenancy by the duke of Grafton.—Hints that he shall be deprived of the seals, from the resentment of lord Sunderland.

DEAR BROTHER,

Dublin, June 12, 1720.

YESTERDAY I had a letter from the duke of Bolton, of the seventh, by which I find he is to be out, tho' he will not understand for entirely; but I take it for granted, our next packets will bring authentick accounts of the duke of Grafton being declared. In the postscript, he tells me, that he believes I shall partake of his fate; and indeed, I little doubted being removed, as soon as it was found to be convenient to their affairs. He * whose nose burst out bleeding, on my utterly refusing to be for the peerage bill, hath resentment enough mixed with his passion for that bill to seek the ruine of all who opposed it; and there is no withstanding the current of his present power. I believe too, your riding resty this session, hath increased the weight of my sins. I am preparing for quitting all thoughts of Dublin or public affairs, during my life; and believe, I shall find more happiness and peace in a private retirement at Peperhara, * then I should ever have met with, if my zeal for his majesty's service had mett better returns from some who serve him, then they have done: but you and I have not learned to be servile enough, or to bring every body else into a necessity of dancing after the pipe of one sett of men. Farewell. Tho' my fortune be not great, I shall be able to live independant, and yet handsomely. My services to all where you are.

Middleton Papers.

* Lord Sunderland.

* His country seat in Surry.

LORD CHANCELLOR MIDDLETON TO THOMAS BRODRICK.

Lord Sunderland and the duke of Bolton threaten to deprive him of the seals, because he would not vote for the peerage bill.—Is determined not to resign.—Justifies his conduct in remonstrating against the measures proposed by government.

DEAR BROTHER,

June 26, 1720.

I Thank you for your letter of the one and twentieth, but cannot be of your opinion, in relation to what you fancy will not happen: I have all along taken

Middleton Papers.

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 1714 to 1720.
 1720.

taken it for granted, I should be removed, from the time I could not promise to go into the darling bill; and you may remember, I told you, I had it more then hinted to me by lord S. and the d. of B. what the consequences of persisting in my own sentiments, and not going implicitly into that scheme, would prove to me. It is impossible for a proud man to forgive being denyed the most unreasonable request; and you may be sure, it caused no little ferment in his blood, when it burst out so plentifully att his nose, as it did on his finding me immoveable after all the soft and rough arguments had been made use of. But, in my opinion, the late order from the lords of the admiraltye, for the yatcht to attend immediately at Chester, to bring over the lord chief baron Gilbert, with his servants, and *equipage*, shews he is to return a greater man then he went over: the usual method hath been to apply here for an order for the yatcht, which would have been granted immediately; but this being new, makes the thing more taken notice of, and creates the same opinion in the rest of the town, that it did in me, when captain Lawson first shewed me the order. It is pretty odd, if it be determined, that I am to be removed, that it is kept so much a secret; after its being none that some people have for a good while been preparing the way for doing it. We are not strangers to the offer made sergeant Pengelly, and the terms of the treaty; nor to the sending for sir R. L. to return to London: but there is something not yet adjusted finally to the satisfaction of the schemists. If my good friends fancy I will throw up, they shal find themselves mistaken; for tho' I know when I am ill used, I resolve not to give them a handle, for doing what they have only wanted a pretence for doing some time past. If I consulted my own interest, I know not that man alive whom I would rather have to succeed me, than the person who I think will doe soe.

My honest endeavours to prevent our lords from doing some things in the last parliament (for which I cannot but think most of them are a good deal concerned, tho' they cannot bring their stomachs to own it) rendered me for sometime the butt of the rancour and malice of all who were infatuated with a notion, that the lords were doing the kingdome service; and that those who opposed their proceedings, did it to make their court in England; they and their abettors were patriots, those who differed from them were betrayers of their country; thus I suffered for some time in the opinion of weak men, and you may be sure my personal enemyes took care to blow the coals. Nay, I was so injuriously treated, that when the chief baron had refused to take any notice of an order of the lords here, on an appeal from a decree in the exchequer,

exchequer, tho' there was no appeal brought before the lords of Britain, I was ^{Peerage Bill.} said to have been privy to it, and to have advised the chief baron to doe soe: ^{1780.} tho' between you and me, I never heard of the thing till after it was done; and Mr. Gibbon told the story at the chief baron's table, when the duke of Bolton dined there, and I happened to be of the company. I think people begin now to think, that they were not so much to blame, who told them what the consequence of their hot proceedings would be, as they were once thought to be; and perhaps, it may be now thought they meant better to the kingdom, or saw farther into consequences, then some of the furious drivers of that extraordinary proceeding. This is a thing one would wish should come to passe, as I plainly foresaw it would in a little time: but when that man is made chancellor, and sits among the lords, who formerly used him very cavalierly, I cannot but think it will be looked on as the last indication in how heinous a manner his treatment and some people's behaviour to him is relished in England; and their characters must fall very low, who assured people, that they were weary of the thing in England, that it was an hot iron, which they resolved to let fall, &c. An archbishop and a certain viscount of your acquaintance, though not your friend or mine, were ever harping on this string. This step, therefore cannot, I think, fail of having this effect, that people will see I advised against doing those things which would never be born in England, but on the contrary, would irritate them to the last degree, and acted honestly in giving that advice; and had the prudence to judge better of the event, then the managers of that hot headed project. I cannot, at the same time, but think this step will lay my lord lieutenant under a good many unforeseen difficulties: whether an unacceptable man will be able to doe much service among the lords, I leave you to judge, as well as whether he will be soe; but but as to the matter of doing the business of a speaker in the house, or of a chancellor, in preparing the bills at the council board, I cannot but think he will, by application, make himself a master of both. We have it here, that our parliament is to be dissolved, and a new one called: if this be soe, I cannot dive into the secret, unless it be this, that a certain person desires to gett out of a post, in which he may foresee more rubbs than he hath yet mett with, or can well remove. But I fancy the thing is only conjecture; tho' Mr. Horace Walpole, I know, hath sent over for a list of the lords and commons. I will not conclude without telling you, that it is given out among the people

Period II. 1714 to 1720. confided in, that I was at the bottom in promoting the proceedings against the barons: is this so? if it be, no man on earth was ever more injuriously treated on both sides than I have been.

Memorandum by lord chancellor Middleton, shewing, that the chief cause of his disgrace, was derived from his refusal to vote in favour of the peerage bill. Without date, but evidently written between his dismissal in 1725, and his death in 1729.

[In his own hand-writing, endorsed by himself.]

An account of the manner, in which I have been treated by lord Sunderland, and the dukes of Bolton and Grafton, with the causes of their displeasure against me.

Middleton
Papers.

ARCHBISHOP Abbott, having received some usage, which he thought severe, held it fit, that the reason of it, might be truly understood, least it might some way turn to the scandal of his person and calling, and therefore drew up a declaration or narrative, of the manner of his treatment; but not with an intent to communicate it to any, but to let it lie by him privately, that things being set down impartially, whilst they were fresh in his memory, he might have recourse to it, if question should be made of any thing contained in that relation. See Rushworth's coll.

I hope I may be excused for doing something in imitation of that great man, in circumstances, which seem to me to have some likeness to his, without the imputation, of having the vanity to believe, my services to the publick, to be any way equal to those of that pious and good archbishop. My years are very near the same* as his were, when he fell into disgrace. I had spent many of them in places of great service; and (as he saith of himself) I may truly say of myself, for ought I know, untainted in any of my actions. I have been made, as he was, *fabula vulgi*, tossed upon the tongues of friends and foes, of protestants and papists, of court and country; but in nothing does my case more nearly resemble his, than in his falling under the displeasure of the then duke of Buckingham, who could not endure any man that would not depend upon him, and so stoop to him, as to become his vassal. The great power which that minister and favorite had with his unfortunate and ill advised master, inclined him to expect more submission to his pleasure, than

* Archbishop Abbot, was sixty-five in 1627, when he fell into disgrace.

the archbishop thought was due to him, having learned a lesson, to be no man's servant but the king's. And it was my misfortune to fall into the disfavor of a certain minister, who was believed to have as great credit and power with his master, as the duke of Buckingham had with his, whose name, I decline to mention, since it hath pleased God to call him out of the world. But it will be necessary to shew, for what reasons, and by what steps, that great man was induced to treat me in the manner he did, for some time before his death.

Peerage Bill.
1720.

Upon his present majesty's accession to the throne, he was pleased to entertain a very good opinion of me, as having in an eminent manner, espoused and served the interests of king George, in the life of the late queen, particularly in the parliament held in 1713, under the duke of Shrewsbury, by standing to be speaker, in opposition to the court, ministry, tories, jacobites, and all people in employment. What effect that session of parliament had on the English councils, was visible in the succeeding session of the British parliament; at which time, it was generally believed, the court intended to have brought in a bill to empower the queen to have appointed her successor by will; but the vigorous proceedings of the Irish parliament in favor of the protestant succession, cast such a damp on their project, that the session opened with declarations, upon every occasion, in the house of commons, of firmly adhering to the succession, as settled in the protestant line; and I am persuaded, that if his majesty had been fully apprized with what zeal and affection I served him at that time, it would not have been in the power of any minister to have procured my disgrace, which afterwards happened. It is now time to shew what were the inducements which made lord Sunderland, from being my friend (for I think it was to his recommendation, I owed being made chancellor of Ireland) to become so bitter an enemy to me as he afterwards proved.

The occasion of lord Sunderland's resentment.

In the session of the British parliament in the year 1718, a scheme was formed, to bring in a bill to restrain the number of peers in Great Britain, which bill had two views; one was to gratify some great lords of North Britain, by turning their elective seats in parliament into hereditary ones; the other was to restrain the prince, when he should come to the crown, from creating lords.

The duke of Bolton was at that time lord lieutenant of Ireland, and spoke

Period II. 1714 to 1720. to me in the end of February 1718, that such a thing was in agitation, and endeavoured to explain it to me, and to convince me of the reasonableness of it; but either had not at that time the resolutions which the lords intended to come to in that affair, or else did not think fit to communicate them to me. He was very warm for my going into it, as a thing much for the good of the publick, and seemed to admire a whig's being of another mind, after the queen had created those twelve lords at one time. At that time, I did not in any sort relish the scheme, but refrained expressing myself, with any warmth or bitterness against it.

I waited on his grace again, after the lords had come to the resolutions in that matter, which the house did come to, and was then again attacked by him with an air of confidence, of his making me a friend to the bill, which, I suppose, proceeded from my not having declared myself with zeal against it, on the first mentioning it. He then began to use arguments to incline my judgment, which not making any impression on me, I told him my mind in plain terms, that I thought the bill was a very dangerous and pernicious one to the constitution, and that it would not pass, at least that it would not have my concurrence; at which he seemed a little startled, and by his manner, I conceived, that he had so good an opinion of his interest in me, or so ill an one of my resolution as to my voting in parliament, that he concluded, I should not be against what he so warmly recommended, especially when he told me that the king had been acquainted with it, and that the ministry thought it to be much for the good of the kingdom; and that if the bill should not succeed, the consequence would be of necessity, the alteration of a whiggish into a tory ministry. I could not see any such consequence of the throwing the bill out, and declared myself determined not to vote for it; but that I should not be under any obligation to give any vote at all in it, if his grace went soon into Ireland, and I attended him over. I expressed myself not fond of speaking or voting against a bill, which I was told the king and ministry had so much at heart, as probably I should do, if I should happen to be in the house, when the bill came before the commons. The surprize and concern the duke expressed on this occasion, induce me to believe, that he had the weakness to have engaged to the ministry, that I would be for the bill, on no better grounds, than my silence, when he first moved the thing, or the interest he thought he had in me, to influence my vote in parliament.

M E M O I R S
OF
S I R R O B E R T W A L P O L E.

Original Correspondence and authentic Papers.

PERIOD THE THIRD.

From the South Sea Act to the Death of George the First.

1720—1727.

Correspondence and Papers principally relating to the South Sea Act.

1720.

THOMAS BRODRICK TO LORD CHANCELLOR MIDDLETON.

Endorsed in the hand of lord Middleton, "Brother Brodrick about the scheme for the South Sea company to pay the publick debts."

Debate on the first proposal of the South Sea company.—Brodrick and Walpole speak in favour of a competition, which is carried.—Reports about the cession of Gibraltar, and a bill in favour of the Roman Catholics.

Jan. 24.

FRIDAY (the day of great expectation) the chancellor of the exchequer, in pretty general terms, opened the South Sea company's scheme, of a proposall for putting the national debt in such a way of payment, as might effect it in the shortest time possible: this he gave us to understand, would
bee

Period III.

1720 to 1727.

1720.

Period III. ^{1720 to 1727} bee 25 years; but Mr. Letchmere, in the subsequent part of the debate, eiked it out to 26 years. After Mr. Aislaby had spent above an hour in his harrangue, the secretary gott up, congratulated him upon the clear and perfectly intelligible light he had putt the matter in, and the nation on the prospect they had hereby of finding themselves out of debt sooner than was generally expected; concluding, that noe other regular motion could be made, than that the chairman should report our having made some progresse, and desiring leave to sitt againe; for that he tooke for granted, every gentleman's being ready and willing to receive a proposall from the South Sea company, upon the foot of what had been soe well opened. A profound silence ensued for a full quarter of an hour; every body expecting who would first rise; when the secretary getting up to make his motion in form, I rose, and was pointed to. I readily agreed with the two gentlemen who had spoake, that till the nationall debt was discharged, or att least in a fair way of being soe, we were not to expect making that figure wee formerly had. I sayd, I could goe farther, making use of the expression of a gentleman (Mr. Hutchyson) whoe told us in a former session, that till this was done, wee could not (properly speaking) call ourselves a nation; that therefore every scheme or proposal tending thereto, ought to be received and considered. But that the occasion of my now speaking was, that the first gentleman who spoake, seemed to mee to recommend the scheme nott onely in opposition, but even exclusivly of all others; and that the next had chimed in with him; that I hoped, in order to make the best bargaine wee could, every other company, nay any other society of men might bee att as full liberty to make proposals as the South Sea company, since every gentleman must agree, this to be the likeliest way to make a good bargain for the publique.

Our great men lookt as if thunderstruck, and one of them in particular, turned as pale as my cravate. Upon this ensued a debate of above two hours. Our ministers (as they might in a committee) spoake again and again; for their auxiliaries proved faint hearted. Mr. Aislaby, in heat, used this unguarded expression; Things of this nature must bee carried on with a *spiritt*; to which sir Joseph Jekill, with a good deal of warmth, tooke very just exception; This *spiritt*, sayes hee, is what has undone the nation; our business is to consider thoroughly, deliberate calmly, and judge of the whole upon reason, nott with the *spiritt* mentioned. Mr. Aislaby desired to explaine; sayd hee only meant that credit was to bee soe supported; which caused some smiling. Mr. Walpole applauded the designe, and agreed in general to the reason-

reasonableness of the scheme, wherein however something wanted amendment, and others (although but few) were unreasonable; but concluded strongly for hearing all, as indeed every body did, three or four only excepted. Mr. Letchmere answer'd him but little, God wot, to the matter in hand; for quitting that, he fell into invectives against Walpole's former scheme, giving great preferences to this. The town says, the bargain with the South Sea company was agreed at his chambers, between Mr. Aislaby, Sir George Caswell, and three or four other South Sea-men; since which, they say Mr. Aislaby has bought 27,000l. stock.

South Sea.
1720.

We often observe how far passion carries men beyond reason, and certainly interest has generally the same effect; for Walpole being irritated, rose again, and began with shewing, by papers in his hand, how very unfairly Letchmere had represented facts, then proceeded to shew his fallacious way of reasoning, and concluded with going more particularly into the scheme, which in several material parts he exposed sufficiently. Letchmere rose up, but he took time to consider, whilst another had spoke, in order to reply; but this was prevented by the whole committee rising at once, and going into the floor; the chairman tore his throat with "to order, hear your member," but all to no purpose, other than to mortify Letchmere, by the members crying out, "wee have heard him long enough." If they were not insatuated, the specimen given them the preceding day, might have taught them; when a bill, impowering the committee (in a former act, for finding out the longitude) to give 2,000l. to such person as they should judge to have made a good progress therein, although reduced to no certainty; the reasonableness whereof, was in a very long set speech prest by Mr. Hambden, to which little more was answered then, that this was not time to squander away publique money upon projects; (but the truth is, 'twas generally understood to be a job) and therefore concluded against passing the bill. The ministry marcht out at the head of 36 yeas, and left within 192 noes. Whether the banke will make a proposall (as is generally expected) I know not; but am very well satisfied, many a fair pound will be saved to the publique, even by the very proposall the South Sea company will make. For this affair is in a very different situation from what they expected upon concerting without doors, and consequently a great many will fail in their hopes; for when the bargain will not bear it, they must be quiett.

The motion for an address relating to Gibraltar, which I mentioned in the former part of this letter, taking wind, has hitherto been delay'd upon assurances given by the ministry to members from man to man, that nothing of that

Period III. that kind should be done; notwithstanding which, I have very good reason to
 1720 to 1727. believe, that att this very moment, itt is under consideration; but I thinke
 1720. they will not be hardy enough to dare doe the thing, and yett if another
 whisper be true, noe man can tell what lengths they may goe. That the in-
 terest of the Romān catholicks of this kingdom, should be espoused by some
 of our most considerable allyes, is nott to be wondered att, butt that they
 should thinke of obtaining, what in humane probability, wou'd in lesse than
 an age, establish that religion here, is surely monstrous. I will nott give my-
 self leave to mention the four particulars sayd to be insisted uppon, much lesse
 can I bring myselfe to believe, that any expectation of successe should be
 given them. God deliver us, if itt be the case, butt no more on such a
 subject.

THOMAS BRODRICK TO LORD CHANCELLOR MIDDLETON.

*Competition between the bank and South Sea company, whose proposall is ac-
 cepted.—Benefits derived from the competition.*

Middleton
 Papers.

(Feb. 2, 1719-20.) YESTERDAY, the committee of the whole house,
 came to a resolution to accept the South Sea proposall, which is to be re-
 ported (and will be agreed to) this day. That you may comprehend how this
 affair has been managed, I'll give you a short detaile of the whole. You
 know by my former letters, that Mr. Aislaby, when hee opened the scheme,
 concluded, that they would offer three millions to the publique, towards
 payment of the nationall debt, applauded their candour, in going the greatest
 length the thing could beare, and concluded with the great benefitt to the
 nation. The South Sea company foreseeing, that the house were resolved
 to hear every proposall, that any other company should make; became
 sensible, that the banke would be able to offer a much better, and therefore,
 in that which they delivered in writing, advanced half a million, when att the
 same time, the banke outbid them full two millions; this putt them under a ne-
 cessity to desire they might amend their proposall, which was easily granted, the
 generality of the house, being for making the best bargain for the publique.
 Yesterday, they gave a second proposall in writing, by which they made the
 three millions and a half (which they formerly bid) four millions, payable by
 four quarterly payments. This they were to pay in all events; they further
 offered, that instead of three year's purchase, which the banke had proposed to
 pay, out of the long termes (which for distinction, wee call the irredeemable
 funds)

South Sea.

1720.

funds) they were willing to pay four years and a half's purchase, which (uppon supposition the whole should bee taken in) does amount to above three millions more, and to shew that they would truly endeavour doing soe, they submitted to pay one year's purchase certaine, in the nature of a *nomine pena*, which one year's purchase amounts to above six hundred sixty od thousand pounds. They had by their first proposal, demanded a continuance of the present interest of five per cent. for seven years, when the whole was to be reduced to four; which by this proposal, they reduce to four years, the banke having in their proposal, offered the same; the saving uppon this head, amounts to three hundred thousand pounds yearly; and lastly, they propose to circulate, two millions of exchequer bills, for the terme of four yeares, gratis; the saving uppon this head, is fifty thousand pounds. Upon the whole, instead of three millions, which they first offered, they are now to pay, above five certaine, to which is to be added, the contingency of two millions and a halfe more, uppon their purchasing in the long termes, which 'tis their interest to doe, and consequently they will. Whoever had heard how highly the first scheme was applauded, how earnestly recommended for our acceptance, and how very near itt was to bee soe, would stand amazed, that ever the publique (in any instance) should be soe fortunate, as to more than double the summe intended for them; butt thus itt has for once happened. 'Tis nott vanity in mee to say, that this is due to my motion; because, even those whoe I am sure wish mee ill, are pleased to congratulate mee (from the teeth outward) uppon the very vast advantage accruing to the publique thereby. I will nott say the first scheme was formed in order to any particular sett of men finding their account in the acceptance of itt, but am sure 'tis plaine as the sun, there was roome enough for their doing soe. The calculators shew, that by the first scheme, the national debt would have been discharged in twenty-eight years, and even this prospect pleased people; butt 'tis now demonstrable 'twill bee done in lesse then eighteen.

WILLIAM PULTENEY TO DANIEL PULTENEY.

Rejoices at the reconciliation between the king and prince of Wales.—Secrecy with which it was conducted.—Proposes to put up a member for Westminster.—Prosperous situation of public affairs.

Period III.

DEAR COUSIN,

London, May 7, 1720.

1720 to 1727.

1720.

Pulteney
Papers.

I Can make you no excuse for not answering yours of near two months ago, before this time, but I hope you will forgive me, if I own the truth, and tell you, that I am a most intollerable lazy correspondent. The good news which has lately happen'd, of the reconciliation between the king and prince was as surprizing as it was satisfactory and agreeable to every body; I dare say the French embassador had not the least hand in it, nay, I am fully convinced, that till the morning the prince went to St. James's, he knew nothing of it; nor do I believe ten men in all England did. The consequences of this happy event, must be very advantageous to the cause, you and I have always wished well to; among others, I think it impossible to fail of a whigg parliament, whenever the king pleases to call a new one. You may depend upon it, that I will take care of you; and if it should happen, that there should be a vacancy at Hendon, before a new parliament, you shall certainly be brought in, if not, 'tis not a great while you have to wait. I have been thinking, it would be right for some one of our family to stand for Westminster, to revive the strongest interest that ever was known in any place. The interest which the name alone would carry, joyned with the estates my uncle and I have in it, would certainly carry it for any one of the family, we should agree in setting up. But this is a distant consideration, and we shall have time enough to think of it, when you return, which I hope will be soon, since you so earnestly desire it.

I can send you no news, that you have not from much better hands; but I hear just now, that Lechmere is dismissed from the employment of attorney generall, and Raymond putt in his place. I hope and doubt not, but the king's affairs will go on very prosperously, both at home and abroad. I am sure I shall very heartily contribute my small endeavours to make them do so, and I am satisfied, I cannot in any thing do him more service, than in bringing you into parliament.

SECRETARY CRAGGS TO EARL STANHOPE.

The squadron must not be laid up.—A new subscription for smelting copper.—Lord Westmoreland at the head of it; and the prince of Wales the governor.—South Sea company purpose, it is said, to declare a dividend of 60 per cent.—Hopes that his journey to Berlin will be successful.

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MY LORD,

Whitehall, July 8, 1720.

South Sea.

1720.

Stanhope
Papers.

Private.

THIS letter, which comes by the post, serves only to enclose one which you will be very well pleas'd with, from colonel Armstrong. Upon this occasion, I beg leave to observe to your lordship, that by the papers, which the lords of the admiralty laid before the Lords justices, it appears that there are with this new squadron, which we are fitting out, five and twenty thousand men, or thereabouts, in pay for this year, whereas thirteen thousand five hundred only, is the quota granted by parliament. Your lordship knows, that this squadron was fitted out by his majesty's particular order, signified by me to the lords of the admiralty; and therefore I do conceive it will not be proper for the lords justices to lay it up, nor is it very well practicable; since, they know no more, but that it is designed for Port Mahon, a disposition which they can allege no reason, nor any body to them for altering. Lord Sunderland goes to-morrow to Tottridge for a week; the duke of Roxburgh is gone into Scotland; the dukes of Devonshire and Bolton will soon be going into the country; but still I hope we shall never want a quorum to carry on the necessary business twice a week.

There is a new subscription going on for what they call smelting of copper, which I take to be refining of it; they pretend a patent, which excepts them from the bubbles, destroyed by the last act of parliament; and have the opinions of some eminent lawyers, that notwithstanding that law, they may act legally under it. My lord Westmoreland was at the head of this undertaking; but his lordship, and the persons engaged with him, having represented to his royal highness the usefulness of it, he has done them the honour to accept of being their governor. I have met to day with a report, as if the South Sea company intended to declare a dividend at 60 per cent. for one and twenty years; but as I have it not from any of the directors themselves, I do not give it to your lordship for a certain truth.

SECRETARY CRAGGS TO EARL STANHOPE.

Congratulates him on the peace between Sweden and Denmark.—Walpole and the speaker ineffectually endeavour to prevent the prince from being governor of the copper company.

MY DEAR LORD,

Cock-Pit, July 12, 1720.

I Have receiv'd the favour of your private one of the 1st inst. and heartily rejoice with you on the conclusion of the peace between Sweden and

Stanhope
Papers.

B B 2

Denmark.

Private.

Period III. 1720 to 1727. Denmark. I hope one good effect of your lordship's journey to Berlin, will be to inspire his Prussian majesty with a little more vigour against the czar. If the affairs of religion are not finish'd, I hope you will draw this use from the delay of 'em, to keep lord Cadogan at Vienna, till they are finished. You will by this post receive more proofs of that scoundrel Beretti Landis' good intentions. I wish it prove true, that Monteleone will be president of Castille; I think he will be disposed to cultivate a good understanding between the two kingdoms. You will also see another note from Armstrong, that shews all my lord Stair's fears were not groundless; but on the other hand, does not your lordship think, sir Robert Sutton has thrown himself a corps perdu into Mr. Law; I hope in God that Carteret will goe to the congress. Mr. John Chetwynde has offer'd me his services this morning to that effect. Which ever resolution the king takes about Gibraltar, I hope he will not yield to the manner in which the court of Spain puts that matter.

The speaker and Mr. Walpole could not dissuade the prince from being governor of this copper company, tho' they told him he would be prosecuted, mention'd in parliament, and cry'd in the alley, upon the foot of Onslow's insurance, Chetwynde's bubble, prince of Wales' bubble, &c. he has already got 40,000l. by it. The South Sea company open a subscription on Thursday, for what they call the redeemable annuity's. Don't you begin to think of supporting the regent? he seems to want it; might not my lord Carteret go through France in his way to England, where I take it for granted, his family and his private affairs will call him? I have secured Squerries, and shall have the pleasure of being your lordship's neighbour in Kent; a reason that has made the purchase much more valuable to me. I don't hear of Schaub upon the road, I believe your lordship would be glad to have him with you; I see by Mr. Whitworth, that he does nothing yet in that great affair of the pensionary; I leave it to your lordship to instruct Stanyan what to do, and how much money to give at the Ottoman Port.

SECRETARY CRAGGS TO DANIEL PULTENEY.

About subscriptions for the South Sea stock.

Pulteney
Papers.

(July 14, 1720.) IF you had been desirous to be in any of these subscriptions, which have proved so very advantageous, I would have procured you some share in them, and I will remember it henceforward, now I know your mind. But upon my word, I have not, and I believe, nobody else has

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has put down any friend's name, without their consent, for the success of these things has been uncertain.

South Sea.

1720.

SECRETARY CRAGGS TO EARL STANHOPE.

Rage for South Sea subscriptions.—Walpole and others dine with lord Sunderland.—Strange conduct of the duke and duchess of Marlborough.

MY DEAR LORD,

Cockpit, July 15, 1720.

YOU'L find, that I have but little to trouble you with this post: Mr. de la Faye's letter: and the minutes of the justices, tell your lordship all the common occurrences, and I have nothing to add of a more private nature. I have had assurance enough, to move in council, that the new attempt to evade the last law, by trumping up these old charters for smelting copper, may be prosecuted, and the methods are now under consideration. To-morrow, I go to Richmond, where I am afraid my motion will not have been kindly represented; for my lord Westmoreland, who engaged the prince to accept this governorship, was present.

Stanhope
Papers.

Private.

It is impossible to tell you, what a rage prevails here for South Sea subscriptions at any price. The crowd of those that possess the redeemable annuities is so great, that the bank, who are obliged to take them in, has been forced to set tables with clerks in the streets. There dined yesterday at lord Sunderland's, the dukes of Devonshire and Newcastle, lord Carlisle, lord Townshend, lord Lumley, the speaker, Walpole, and I, and we got some very drunk, and others very merry. Lord Falmouth, whom the publick have maliciously nicknamed lord Foulmouth, bows very low and gravely to us all, and seems to be in a great quandary. Would you believe, that the duke of Marlborough, at a visit he and his good duchess made at Richmond, told the prince, he was ashamed to see his royal highness in such a country house, like a private gentleman, while such an insignificant creature as the duke of Marlborough was playing the king; that he had out of decency attended the lord's justices once at the first summons, but that he would return no more. Last Saturday, when I was at that court, I observed, that the prince talked of the perfect state of his grace's understanding; but Mr. Walpole told me afterwards, that his royal highness had trusted him with this secret. You'll understand this matter better, when you reflect on the abusive language, which my lady duchess bestows every day most plentifully upon us. Here is a French refugee officer returned from France, who confirms Armstrong's last account, that they are reducing

Period III. 1720 to 1727. reducing 10 men per company, and 5 per troop in France. I want to learn your lordship's thoughts upon those affairs, and what part the king will take in them; here is no new body dead, or to be married since I last wrote to you, and consequently no more for me to say, but that I am ever, my dear lord, yours, &c.

THOMAS BRODRICK TO LORD CHANCELLOR MIDDLETON.

Fate of the South Sea stock.—Great losses.—General consternation.

Middleton
Papers.

(September 13, 1720.) I came (as I told you I would) to towne, in order to adjust the matter of your lottery tickets, pursuant to the advertisement from the 'South Sea company. Yesterday was the day appointed, butt (as is customary with them) they have putt itt of, and those concerned are to wait their leisure, and take such satisfaction as they thinke fitt to give. Wee made them kings, and they deal with every body as such; those whoe submit and subscribe are at their mercy; those whoe doe nott, are to be opprest in such manner, as shall make what is due to them of little use; and all this, I suppose, they are to be supported in, having engaged the house of commons soe far in their interest, by wayes obvious to every body, that I thinke the nation will bee to beare such part of the losse sustained by private persons, as the company shall thinke fitt; whilst the gaine obtain'd by fraude and villanous practices, is to turne to their advantage. I foresaw this from the beginning, and have as many witneses of itt, as persons I converse with; but I owne, I thought they would have carryed on the cheat somewhat longer. Various are the conjectures why they suffered the cloud to breake soe early, I made noe doubt butt 'twould doe soe when they found itt for their advantage, which nott being the case just att this time, some other reason must bee found; and the true one I take to bee, stretching credit soe far beyond what 'twould beare, that specie proves deficient for supporting itt, by circulating paper. It is observable, that many of their most considerable men, with their fast freinds, the tories, jacobites, and papists (for these they have all along hugged) have drawne out, securing themselves by the losses of the deluded thoughtlesse numbers, whose understandings were over-ruled by avarice, and hopes of making mountains of mole hills. Thousands of families will be reduced to beggery, what the consequences of that will bee, time must shew; I know what I thought from the beginning, and feare 'tis very near att hand. The consternation is inexpressible, the rage beyond expression, and the case so desperate, that I doe nott

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nott see any plan or scheme, so much as thought of, for averting the blow, soe that I can't pretend to guesse att what is next to bee done.

South Sea.

1720.

THOMAS BRODRICK TO LORD CHANCELLOR MIDDLETON.

Distress of the South Sea company.—Reports about a dissolution of parliament, seem to be unfounded.—His opinion of the instability of the South Sea scheme justified by the event.—Lord Sunderland duped by the directors.

(Sept. 27, 1720.) THE company have yett come to noe determination, for they are in such a wood, that they know nott which way to turne; butt 'tis given out (I suppose by direction) that they will lower the price of the third and fourth subscriptions, and offer more reasonable termes to the redeemables, leaving to their option the acceptance, or returne of their severall securityes, these to remain on the foote they are, till discharged by payment in mony; noe doubt att first they intended nothing lesse, butt as Mr. Budgell told them in the generall court, since the mountain would nott come to Mahomet, hee must goe to the mountaine. You misunderstood mee in thinking, I expected a speedy dissolution: that had been considered and lay'd aside, notwithstanding which, as earnest application was every where making, as if elections were to begin within a month, this was begun by the South Sea-men, and great fumes have they already spent, butt, if I mistake not, they will meet with more disappointments, then they expected; for by severall gentlemen, lately come to towne, I perceive the very name of a South Sea-man, growes abominable in every country.

Middleton
Papers.

Your remark is very just, that if this great Leviathan intended to have been directors of the whole national affairs, as well as of the company doe fall, itt will necessarily occasion, such a convulsion, as noe honest man desires; but I think there remains a middle way between the two extremes, by supporting their credit, as far as in reason itt ought to bee supported, distinguishing between what ought properly to bee call'd credit, and chimericall calculations, and the one is certainly practicable, without running into the other. A great many goldsmiths are already gone of, and more will daily. I question whether one third, nay a fourth can stand itt; the cause of which, is, this, those whoe had either originally, or by buying with mony gott by taking differences, run into pretty considerable quantityes of stock, nott being therewith content, butt resolving to sitt down with nothing lesse then hundred thousands, in order to obtaine which, gave vast premiums to the goldsmiths for mony, pawning their

Period III. ^{1720 to 1727.} their stock, some att four, others att five and six hundred, this being lookt
 1720. upon as good as land security: the money thus lent by the goldsmiths was in
 cash notes, which whilst paper had credit, answered the end as well as specie;
 butt assoon as a run was upon them, they found (by reason of the stocks
 sinking) their pledges would nott produce cash to answer their notes, and thus
 one after another are they every day going of.

From the very beginning, I founded my judgment of the whole affair
 upon this unquestionable maxim, that ten millions (which is more then our
 running cash) would not circulate two hundred millions, beyond which our
 paper credit extended; that therefore, when ever that should become doubt-
 full, bee the cause what itt would, our noble state machine must inevitably fall
 to the ground, or att best bee brought within soe much a narrower com-
 passe then what was projected, that our most sanguine people would find
 nothing more appositely expressive of their vain hopes then

Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.

I endeavoured, with an honest and friendly intention, to persuade as
 many of my friends as I conversed with, to secure the main chance, and nott
 dip (at least) out of their depth, in case they should resolve to goe with the
 current. Some few were prevailed upon by such arguments as I thought well
 founded, whose hearty thanks and acknowledgments I have receiv'd; butt the
 far greater part concluding (as I must own I did) that the thing would have
 been carried on for some longer time, have on this supposition, run them-
 selves aground, which they dearly repent: into this they were generally lead by
 assurances from the gent. whose nose bled, and whose himselfe was certainly
 duped by the honest directors from whom hee receiv'd information, whilst they
 were all the time (underhand) selling out as fast as they could. That he was
 duped, I thinke past doubt, from his having by his influence, brought all his
 particular friends, and even his owne family and nearest relations, soe far into
 the mire, as that few of them will, during their lives, surmount the losse, others
 of them are soe totally undone, as to bee beyond possibility of retrieving itt.
 Possibly, before the end of next session, I may bee called a South Sea-man,
 for I shall nott join with those whose losses have soe far exasperated them, as
 to bee desirous, out of revenge, to run into extremes, which may endanger the
 nation. Farewell.

EXTRACTS OF LETTERS FROM

MR. JACOMBE* TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

South Sea.

1720.

* Under
secretary at
war.

Frequent bankruptcies.—Hints at a scheme for ingrafting part of the South Sea stock into the bank and East India company.—Public anxiously expects the assistance of Walpole.

(October 11, 1720.) WE have two posts just come in from Holland, but know not any news by them. One house in Holland is broke, with whom fir J. Beck had great transactions, what effect it will have upon him, is not yet knowne. Several merchants are broke, and we expect more every day; and till it appeares, who can stand this storme both here and in Holland, the bank cannot open any discount, not knowing who to trust. South Sea is about 240, and nobody in a condition to help it.

Orford
Papers.

When I waited on lord Townshend, he was pleased to talk with me on what could or ought to be done for the company. I mentioned a thought of mine, that would be best for the interest of the nation, if instead of adding more to the company, their capital was divided amongst the three great bodies, the bank, the South Sea, and India companies; thereby making them more equall, but upon separate interests, as checks on one another, and consequently lesse powerfull and lesse dangerous to the state. He was pleased with the thoughte, and commanded me to consider how it might be practicable. I promised him to doe so against your returne to London. I have since thought more closely of it, and doe believe, though there are difficultyes, yet that it is practicable and advisable. When you come to towne, I believe I shall be able to lay a short plan of it before you, and submitt it to your judgement.

(London, October 13, 1720.) Every body longs for you in town, having no hopes from any but yourself: though I must own, I don't see what effectual help can be given to them, till some time has worne off people's fears and distrusts of one another.

(November 1, 1720.) They all cry out for you to help them, so that when you come, you will have more difficultys on you, than ever you had. For though you are perfectly clear of this sad scheme, yet you will be prodigiously importuned by all the sufferers to doe more than any man can doe; and more than you, in your judgement, would think ought to be done, if it could be done.

Period III.

1720 to 1727.

WILLIAM PULTENEY TO DANIEL PULTENEY.

1720.

Many of his friends ruined, but no sufferer himself by the fate of the South Sea stock.—Influence of Walpole; has it in his power to ruin the South Sea company and lord Sunderland.—Good effects of his interference.—General distress and despondency.

DEAR COUSIN,

London, Nov. 20, 1720.

Pulteney
Papers.

I Am perfectly ashamed to write to you, having received so many letters from you, without answering one of them; but I hope you will forgive me, when I assure you, that I have done nothing, nor thought of nothing, for these last two months, but South Sea stock, and yet I am not myself any great sufferer by it; but so many of my acquaintance are ruined and undone, that I am under as much anxiety and uneasiness of mind, as if I was so myself. 'Tis ridiculous to tell you, what a summe, I might once have been master of; but since I had not discretion enough to secure that, 'tis still some comfort to me, to have putt my affairs into such a way, that lett what will happen, I can be no looser by it. The king's coming, which every body thought would have in some measure reviv'd the stock, has from abundance of simple stories, that have been artfully dispersed, rather depressed it, and within this week, the stock has been sold at 120*l*.

It has been reported, that Mr. Walpole, who has the greatest influence of any one over the directors of the bank, has all this while prevented their complying with the bargain they made with the South Sea company, and that he has it now in his power to ruin the South Sea scheme, and the authors of it at once, in revenge for the trick they formerly served him. To tell you the plain truth, I do not think there is any very cordial affection between the ministers and him: but it is so much the interest of both of them, to relieve mankind from this generall calamity, that I am persuaded, they must co-operate in all measures for doing of it, and upon their meeting yesterday, when Mr. Walpole proposed some things for the South Sea, which was agreed to by the ministers, the stock gott up to 200*l*. I am so sensible of what you say, that foreigners have still a very great summe of money in our stocks, that I protest to you, I would rather never see it rise higher than it is, than have it raised for a little while, only by artifices and seeming advantages. This would give those foreigners an opportunity of withdrawing their money; whereas, if it be raised by solid advantages, and such as will fix it at a moderate

derate price, people will be desirous of continuing their money where it is, with more security, and better interest, than it can possibly be any where else. God send we may not think of following any of your Mississippi remedies. This last stroke of forcing people to buy stock, and deposit it for three years, is beyond any of the former contrivances, which Mr. Laws has with so much arbitrary power made use of. The ways we must make use of, must be such as are gentle, and will by degrees raise credit, and give a circulation to money again; this is what must recover our stock, and particular people must retrieve their circumstances by frugality, and a just œconomy. On fryday next, I believe the parliament will meet, tho' some people are for putting it off a week; I fear such a proceeding, would give a great damp to people's spirits, and make them imagine, nothing could be done for their safety. If the parliament does meet, I will send you the king's speech, and the addresses of both houses, with an account of what was besides done in each; but Mr. Craggs tells me, he does believe, in a very little time, you may be here: I heartily wish you was, because, I am sure it must be very disagreeable to be where you are. It was once reported, that this parliament would be continued, but I find there never was the least grounds for it, the king I believe will call a new one next summer, when you may depend upon being chosen at Henden. Pray make mine and my wife's compliments to my cousin, and believe me ever yours.

South Sea.

1720.

DRUMMOND TO DANIEL PULTENEY.

Agreement settled between the bank and South Sea company.—Union between Sunderland and Walpole, raises the stocks.—Many sufferers mentioned; amongst whom are several directors, lord Sunderland, and his friends.

SIR,

London, November 24, 1720.

THE court is taken up in conferring some times with the South Sea directors, and with the bank; the later having a conductor, were pritty stubborn, and had a scheme of their own, which they insisted on; but lord Sunderland said to his friends, that tho' they had differ'd in their way of thinking in the private conference with him at his own house, yet he parted very good friends with them. And common report says, that a new bank would have been proposed, if the old had not been reasonable; and Mr. Walpole should have said to his friends, that he had a different project from that of lord Sunderland, but that the king having enter'd into that of lord Sunderland's, he

Pulteney
Papers.

Period III.
1720 to 1727.

1720.

would joyn to support it. This happy union brought up the stock again from 140 to 200 and 210, and it will in all appearance remain about 200 till something of the scheme be known, which cannot be ready so soon as the parliament was to sit; and therefore it was reported, that they were to be prorogued for 10 days. There are premies given at 250 and 300; but I find that few are so sanguine to think that it will be raised above 300, and I wish it may not go much higher, tho' if it could be brought to 400, it would save a great many who are deeply engaged; but if brought to 400, and not supported there, a new fall would do very much more harme. Common report says, that the court designs to bring it to and support it at 300, by fixing a dividend of 15 per cent. redeemable by parliament; that the debt due by the publick to the bank, shall be paid to the bank by the company in stock at 300, and in like manner to the East India company; that the whole publick debt is to consist of 21 million of capital, bearing 15 per cent. interest; that nationall interest is to be reduced to three per cent. and that severall benefits of trade and fishing are to be given to the company. The directors of the company do own in conversation, that their treasurer had no orders to lend upon stock above 400 per cent. but he has lent 700 and upwards to severall, and very great summs upon subscriptions, and that must become a dead loss; for there is no more to be paid in on the subscriptions, as I am told; and what is paid in already, is to be converted into stock.

There are very many and considerable families reduced by extravagant bargains; our friends the Chetwinds very deep; lord Launsdale desires the government of the Leeward islands, and will obtain it; lord Irwing has got Barbados; it's said, that lord Portland desires Jamaica, which is not thought proper, but will get a pension, for he is very much worse than nothing. The dukes of Wharton and Bolton are great sufferers; and indeed even the South Sea directors included, hardly one in 20 are gainers. Sir Justus Beck's debt is 340 thousand pound, and he cannot pay half a crown in the pound; most who are undone, are in such like state; but the bank is very easy, neither is there so much want of species as of credit. The opera is very fine, and very full; and the court very rich in foreign silks and velvets; I wish it were in good broad cloath, which would keep them warmer in this season. It was reported, that your cousin Mr. Pulteny, was to succeed Mr. Aisleby; but I am told, there will be no alterations till the session be over; and many do think, that this will not be the last session of this parliament. As all lord Sunderland's friends, by sir John Blount's advice, sold out nothing, his lordship

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

197.

ship is now glad it is foo, for he would not have profited of the publik calamity; neither lord Stanhope, Argyll, nor Roxburghe have been in the stocks; but Londonderry has suffered greatly; fir R. Sutton has been a great gainer.

South Sea.
1720.

MR. ECKERSAL TO DANIEL PULTENEY.

Stock rises on a report that Walpole had drawn up a scheme.

(Nov. 24, 1720.) SOUTH Sea stock funk so considerably on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, that I began to think it would be under par, and come to nothing; but as then we had assurances, that the bank and South Sea were to agree, and to come into a scheme of Mr. Walpole's drawing up, and is calculated to raise the stock to 300*l.* or above. The stock rose upon it last Monday, I think one time of the day to 215.

Pulteney
Papers.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE KING.

Some thoughts and considerations concerning the present posture of the South Sea stock, humbly laid before his majesty.*

IT was with great reluctance, and in obedience only to your majesty's commands, that I was prevailed upon, to undertake any thing relating to the South Sea affairs. I am too sensible of the many difficulties, that will attend any scheme, formed to regulate the perplexed and unfortunate state of the South Sea company, to hope that satisfaction can be given, to the infinite number of sufferers. But the publik security, and the restoring and establishing publik credit, in which your majesty's government is so highly concerned, are first to be consulted, and this I hope, may by this means be effectually settled and secured. A due and compassionate regard is to be shewn to the losses of private men, and all that I conceive can be expected, is to give some ease and relief to the present unhappy circumstances, in which great numbers are now involved; but it seems to me impossible, so far to repair every man's losses, that a great many will not still remain considerable losers. An attempt to raise the stock to a higher value than it can be supported at, would only involve a new set of persons in the misfortunes, that others at present labour under, and expose the publik to the great loss, that will be sustain'd by foreigners selling out at high prices, and exporting our gold and silver. And what I desire your

Orford and
Walpole
Papers.

* The original draught in the hand-writing of Sir Robert Walpole, is among the Orford papers; a fair copy among the Walpole papers.

majesty

Period III. majesty may be observed thro' this scheme, is, that I take every thing as I
 1720 to 1727. found it, and do nothing to alter any man's circumstances, but by an accession
 1720. of profit, from the bank and India company, and by an impartial distribution of the whole, as it now appears, from the public transactions of the company; and have carefully avoided, either to enforce or release any publick or private contract or obligation, or to ease or relieve any one sort of adventurers, at the loss and expence of another.

Proposal.

That the first money subscription at 300*l.* per cent. be compleated, all future payments to be made in South Sea bonds, and allowing longer time for the same, to make them less, and more easy. That stock be given for the moneys already paid in, upon the 2d, 3d, and 4th, money subscriptions, at 400*l.* per cent. with the Midsummer dividend, and that all future payments thereon, be discharged. That the stock, which shall then remain undisposed of, be divided among the present proprietors of stock, in proportion to their several interests, and thereby an end put to the selling any more stock by subscription. That the increased capital of the South Sea stock, amounting in the whole, to 38 millions or thereabouts, be divided into three parts, 20 millions to remain to the capital of the South Sea stock, 9 millions to be ingrafted into the bank stock, and 9 millions to be ingrafted into the East India company, at 120 per cent. and the fund from the exchequer to attend this distribution, but the parts of the bank and East India company, to be all 5 per cent. Each company to have it's proportion of the charges of management allowed by the publick. That each proprietor of South Sea stock, shall have his proportion in the new ingrafted capital stock, of each of the respective companies, according to this distribution. That all profits which have hitherto arisen, by sale of stock by subscription, amounting to 15,450,000*l.* shall remain for the benefit of the 20 millions South Sea stock, subject to all charges and incumbrances. That all future privileges and advantages, to be granted by the publick, shall likewise remain for the benefit of the 20 millions South Sea stock. That any further reasonable privileges and advantages be granted to the bank and India company, to induce and enable them to admit this ingraftment.

Observations upon the Proposals.

This method, puts an end to the great demand of money, that arises from time to time, by sale of stock by subscription, which alone has put the town
 under

under such constant distress for money, upon every payment, that whilst that subsisted, it was impossible for credit to revive; the payments to be made, betwixt the 14th November, 1720, and the 14th August, 1721, both inclusive, amounting to 8,478,600*l.* within the compass of ten months, which were to be continued on, till the whole subscriptions had been completed, which would not have ended, till the 2d of July 1725, but are now to be totally discharged. Every subscriber has great ease and relief from this alteration, by being obliged to take only 250*l.* stock at 400 per cent. who is now obliged to take 1000 stock, at the same price; and when the Midsummer dividend of 10 per cent. in stock, making 25*l.* stock, shall be added to the 250*l.* stock, and the future dividend in stock, arising from the stock undisposed of, after the execution of this scheme, amounting to above 46 per cent. in stock, shall be added to the 275 stock; every subscriber, for 1000*l.* paid, will receive 401*l.* 10*s.* stock. The same computation holds upon every 1000*l.* in the redeemable funds, receiving stock at the same price, with the same dividends in stock. The dividend of the stock undisposed of upon the capital, puts an end to all future sales of stock by subscription, which not only prevents the former mischief from being repeated, but puts every proprietor in immediate possession of his just share, arising from the profits of the whole, without waiting for annual dividends, subject to the management of directors, and the sundry chances and hazards, that payments to be received in a long course of time are liable to; and every proprietor, not only receives his share of profit, arising from the South Sea scheme, but has likewise a further advantage upon the whole, by the ingraftment of one half of his increased capital into the bank and East India company.

South Sea.
1720.

This distribution, by ingrafting 9 millions into the bank, and 9 millions into the East India company, reduces the capital of the South Sea company to 20 millions. This reduction alone remedies some of the greatest mischiefs that attended the whole scheme. A capital of 40 millions, is from its bulk alone impracticable, and if raised to an advanced price in any high degree, cannot possibly be negotiated; not only for want of sufficient specie or paper money, but for want of property. Suppose a capital of 40 millions raised to 1000 per cent. the value is 400 millions: it is not to be conceived, that all the property of England can answer such an immense and imaginary value, much less that any sort of money can be found to negotiate one half of it. It is as impossible to find any profits that can supply a dividend upon so large a capital at any advanced

Period III. advanced price; but the capital being reduced to one half, all profits and advantages that can be reasonably given to support the scheme, are double upon the half, to what they would be upon the whole. And by this proposal, all profits that have arisen already by the sale of stock, and all future advantages to be granted by the publick, are reserved for the 20 millions of South Sea stock. And as every proprietor is to have his just proportion in each part of the distribution, he partakes in the advantages reserved for the South Sea company in as full a manner as if his whole had remained there. Besides the profits arising in the South Sea company, he likewise receives bank stock at 120 per cent. computed at 160 per cent. and India stock at 120 per cent. computed at 200 per cent.; and for the interest of his money, he will in all probability receive 8 per cent. per annum from the bank, and 10 per cent. per annum from the East India company, in lieu of the exchequer annuity of 5 per cent. per annum upon each, which are now to be transfer'd to the bank and India company.

And altho' every proprietor gives 120 per cent. for the bank stock, which he is to have in his own right, the 20 per cent. which upon the 9 millions to be ingrafted into the bank, makes in the whole one million and half, is reserved for the common benefit of the whole bank, in which every proprietor is to have his just share, and this reduces the price given for bank stock to 111*l.* 5*s.* or thereabouts; so that every South Sea proprietor gains of one fourth of his South Sea stock about 40 per cent. in the advanced price of bank stock, and upon one fourth about 80 per cent. in the advanced price of India stock; or in another view, for the 20 per cent. which he pays for bank stock above par, he will receive an additional dividend of 3 per cent. per annum, and for the 20 per cent. paid for India stock above par, 5 per cent. per annum; and this is most evidently an addition of so much to every man's property in the South Sea stock.

Besides these private advantages, this distribution of this great capital, with regard to the government and the publick, was almost necessary, and being now divided betwixt the three great bodies and companies of the city, establishes such a ballance of power among them, as may make them all usefull to the publick. The capital of the South Sea company will be now 20 millions, the capital of the bank 14 millions and half, the capital of the East India company 12,200,000*l.*; and as the publick has been, and frequently must be obliged to apply to these corporate bodies, for the support of publick credit,

credit, the public will not be under a necessity to accept the hard terms which one single powerfull body might be inclinable to impose, when all three are in a condition to aid and assist upon any emergency, and this has been verified by constant experience.

South Sea.

1720.

THOMAS BRODRICK TO LORD CHANCELLOR MIDDLETON.

King's speech read at the secretary of state's office.—Proceedings in the house of commons on moving and reporting the address.—Rumours of a dissolution.—Directors ordered to attend.

(December 10, 1720.) UPON Wensday night, about a hundred members mett att the secretary's office, when (according to custom) the king's speech was read, and a resolution was propos'd for an addresse of thanks. One of the company sayd, hee thought the directors of the South Sea company ought by name to bee represented, as the persons to whom the losse of creditt ought to be imputed, butt condemning persons unheard (however obnoxious) was nott reasonable; butt that the end might bee attained by generall words, to witt, *to enquire into the causes of these misfortunes*. This was very vigorously opposed by some few, and a great man sayd itt would, instead of retrieving, occasion (probably) an utter losse of itt, for that the directors would run away; butt this did nott obtaine. For my own part, I thought the words fully agreed to, when on a suddaine 'twas whisper'd about, that they were omitted, which gave occasion to a friend of yours, to call to Mr. secretary, whoe was reading a subsequent paragrah, to know whither the amendment proposed were incerted, to which hee answered noe; for you know, says hee, I am to observe directions, and members calling out, read on; read on, I proceeded soe to doe, without incerting them. The other replied, I thought the words agreed to, and consequently incerted, for surely half a dozen near you are nott to thinke of determining for soe great a number: wee meet here as I apprehend to endeavour soe to understand each other, as to bee of one mind in another place; I think itt therefore incumbent on mee to speake plainly. This resolution is to bee proposed to the house, where the words you have thought fitt to omitt, may bee offered, and I doe promise you uppon my word they will bee soe, when they will bee fully debated, and if occasion bee, the question determined by a division. Mr. secretary then sayd, propose your words, which being done, they were without more a doe incerted.

Middleton
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Period III.

1720 to 1727.

1720.

Sir Joseph
Jekyll.

The motion being yesterday made, gentlemen lett themselves into the most bitter inveſtives againſt the miſexecution of the act of parliament, and indeed in great meaſure againſt the act, as veſting too large powers in a ſett of men whoe are now call'd miſcreants, the ſcum of the people, and worſe names if poſſible. Thus are wee aſhamed of what many of us contended for laſt yeare with the greateſt eagerneffe, and that uppon motives nott fitt to bee mentioned. The more moderate few (for that was what butt very few had a right to call themſelves) lay'd the ſtreſſe uppon miſexecution; butt even uppon this head, they went great lenghts, particularly ſir J. J.* whoe ſayd, that hee could nott butt thinke, at leaſt hope, that all the directors were nott equally culpable, butt ſure hee was, that ſome were highly criminal whoe were not directors. Another ſayd, the miniſtry with onely a frowne had been able to putt a ſtop to all the little bubbles, in order to deepen the water for the great one, whence profit was to ariſe. A third concluded thus: this parliament begun with a ſecret committee falling upon a precedent miniſtry; and why may itt nott conclude with doing ſoe to another? What your friend ſayd Wenſday night, proves to have been well judged, for uppon reporting the addreſs yeſterday, ſir J. J. mov'd an amendment, by inserting what you ſee therein of puniſhing the authors, which went without oppoſition. Others tooke exception to itt as too tender; this nott being a party cauſſe, arrowes in full vollyes are lett fly from every quarter.

Thurſday is appointed for conſidering the ſtate of credit, when Mr. Walpole has promiſed us his thoughts, and tho' his friends doe nott love to hear of a ſcheme being call'd his, hee is certainly digeſting one, which wee are then to have, the greater part of which, all the towne know already. Wee are to attend his majeſty with our addreſſe this day att two, ſoe that I ſuppoſe little will bee done in the houſe. If any thing material happen, I'll adde itt, for writing this in the morning gives an oportunity of ſaying what will certainly bee more diverting then parliamentary accounts.

Woe bee to ſerjeant Birch and George Caſwell, if they preſume to ſtand candidates att Lcomſtar, att any ſuture election; which however may nott bee ſoe near as ſome people thinke: for in caſe wee deſerve itt, 'tis hoped by ſome, and fear'd by others, that wee may bee longer liv'd then this ſeſſion, as well as that twenty-five Scots peers, in addition to the two diſputed titles, may bee made hereditary, leaving out of the bill what relates to England; butt I thinke, if offered (which I cannott yett bring myſelf to believe) 'twill run the gantlett as the laſt did.

Wee

Wee have had a little flurry by an unexpected (undigested) motion made by governor Pitts, for ordering the directors to attend on Thursday, with their myrmodons the secretary and treasurer, and if they pleased, with their great scandirbag, whoe he meant by that, I know nott, butt the epithet denotes somebody of consideration. The time being come for attending his majesty with the addresse, itt was agreed by common consent, that this matter bee taken into farther consideration on Munday, without a question putt for adjourning the debate, att which time I apprehend the maine argument on one hand will bee, that unlesse credit shall bee more reestablisht before you fall to finding faults, doing itt will grow more difficult afterwards. On the other side 'twill bee sayd (and I doubt too truly) that unlesse you probe the fore to the bottom before you enter on remedies, 'twill bee only skinning over, what from a corrupt bottom, will in a short time breake out againe, and that with more virulence from the expectation of impunity, which such a proceeding will give ground for: 'twill bee, I believe, a very smart debate, since upon the success a great deale depends. I was told (and not by a very ill hand) that a great man had been heard to say 'twould bee necessary to adjourn in order to more tempet: I thinke such a remedy will onely irritate; butt perhaps, the approaching hollidays may bee the avow'd reason.

South Sea.

1720.

THOMAS BRODRICK TO LORD MIDDLETON.

Proceedings in the house of commons against the directors.

(December 13, 1720.) THE motion of Saturday (which I mentioned in my last) was yesterday putt into better forme, as you will see by the votes; the first question mov'd, was in very strong terms opposed by three or four; for as I remember, that was the number. On the other hand, numbers spoke with the freedom becoming a Brittish house of commons. The first whoe spoke on the side of the question, was my quondam colleague sir R. S.* he indeed set the matter in a clear light, by telling us, that a nation of more wealth and greater credit than any in Europe, within less than two years, was reduc't to what wee see, and too sensibly feel, by a few cyphering citts, a species of men of equal capacity in all respects (that of cheating a deluded people only excepted) with those animals who fav'd the capitol, who were now to be skreen'd by those of greater figure, for what reason they best know, others were att liberty to judge. Another (in answer to an argument against the question, that this vindicative justice so much contended for, would nott

Middleton
Papers.Sir Richard
Steele.

Period III. ^{-720 to 1727.} attain the end propos'd, for that you would nott be able to come att the estates of the delinquents) say'd hee thought all the laws against bankrupts being enacted into one against the directors (for soe he would always call them, as what carry'd more of obloquy then any other word could expresse) would, in his opinion, attain the end propos'd. Abundance spoake with equall bitterneffe, and such was the general outcry, that the previous question which had been demanded, was nott thought fitt to be infistd upon, and they were too wise to discover their weakness by a division upon the main question. How far *ways and means* will goe towards warding the blow, I know nott; that they will be us'd, I am satisfy'd, butt I thinke there is a possibility of a disappointment.

THOMAS BRODRICK TO LORD MIDDLETON.

Walpole proposes his scheme in the house of commons.

Middleton
Papers.

(December 22, 1720.) OUR scheme was yesterday opened by Mr. Walpole, whoe with the greatest skill imaginable intrencht himselfe, by telling us, that hee tooke for graunted things were, as they are lay'd before us: *Cujus contrarium*; and in speaking his thoughts, as he termed itt, att least fix times desired it might be remembered, that he argued upon this supposition. The substance in short was this: that of the 38 millions now vested in the South Sea company, nine should by way of ingraftment, be vested in the banke, as many in the East India company, and the remaining 20 millions remaine to the South Sea. The mony account, he sayd, he did not care to meddle with; and he was in the right, for when that shall be discuffd (if ever itt be) 'twill not bear an examination. After many long speeches, to very little purpose, 'twas understood that the house would bee ready to receive propofalls from these 3 great bodyes, which we shall, I think, agree to, bee they what they will, for the same reasons (for they will be plentifully made use of) which induced us to passe the bill last session; I then told you, what I thought would bee the issue, which to my great grieve proves too rightly judged; I will now tell you my fears of this matter. That Mr. Walpole made the most of every thing, is very certaine; and supposing his postulata (to use his owne words) well grounded, his conclusions were right. Butt my opinion is, that skinning over the soare, without probing the wound to the bottom, will end in its breaking out againe, when possibly the malignity may bee too great to bee overcome: butt we are for putting off the evil day, and hee is a fool or knave whoe joins not therein. I am told (I believe by a very good hand) Gibraltar is
after

after all to be given up to the Spaniard, a supposition which last year argued the utmost disaffection. When or where our misfortunes shall end, time alone can determine, though I am very inclinable to hope the best: that strong inclination cannot so far prevail as to leave me without fears.

South Sea.
1721.

1721.

THOMAS BRODRICK TO LORD MIDDLETON.

Bill against the directors reported.—Justifies the resolution of not allowing them to be heard by counsel.

(Jan. 19, 1720-1.) YOU see by the votes the bill against the directors reported and ordered to be engrosed, I believe 'twas this day read a third time, and carried to the lords. It prohibits their going out of the kingdom for a year, and to the end of the next session of parliament, requiring their entering into recognizance of a hundred thousand pounds, with two sureties in twenty-five thousand pounds each, for performance of the above condition; it requires the delivery of an inventory of their estates real and personal upon oath; and enacts, that if they shall falsify therein (being convicted) shall suffer as felons, without benefit of clergy; there is a clause for encouragement of discoverers, and others, such as may make the bill more effectual. They had the assurance to petition to be heard by council against the bill, which was rejected with the utmost indignation, although supported by some of our great men (which by the way was very ill relish) not only in favour of the directors, but on account of justice, for that no criminal (how great soever) ought to be condemned, unheard. To which 'twas answered, that this bill did not condemn, the chief end being only to secure their standing a tryall, and preventing alienation of their estates till such times as their tryall was over. 'Twas then said, even thus much would be inflicting a great punishment, unheard; to which 'twas reply'd, that surely gentlemen had not read over the papers and accounts delivered at the bar by themselves, for that by these the most notorious breach of trust (against the tenor and purport of the South Sea act, as well as against their own by laws) were confessed, that therefore the case was no more or other than committing or requiring bail from a criminal upon confession, according to the nature of the offence;

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that

Period III. that from the notoriety of the thing, as well as from the national prejudice
 1720 to 1727. sustained thereby, the legislature were now doing what in ordinary cases the
 1721. magistrate might and ought to doe. The house were, from a coolness of
 temper, wrought up to a great height, and that (in my opinion) by the earnest-
 nefs of some gentlemen, whoe at last were forc't quietly to give up the point.
 I have seen strange turnes, but I thinke this matter incapable of one: what
 a considerable man began his first speech with (for hee spoake with great ve-
 hement a second time) is certainly true, that saying any thing which might
 bee interpreted as favouring a South Sea director, would be very ill heard,
 and putt the speaker under great disadvantage. I will nott goe abroad (being
 a good deal seavourish) till I thinke I can doe itt without great hazard,
 though I own I shall bee very uneasy till I can attend my duty.

The bill is ordered to the lords. That house have had several brokers
 before them this day; a gentleman is just gone from mee (the lords being sit-
 ting late as it is) to lett me know that those sparkes have confessed so much,
 that their lordships thinke they will scamper, unless taken into custody, with
 a declaration and message sent to the house of commons, acquainting them
 herewith; and that when and as often as the committee shall send for them,
 their officer shall attend with them; desiring to know my opinion, whither the
 house (whom they would avoyd in any wise disobliging) may looke upon
 this as the least obstruction to the enquiry. My answer was, that I could
 onely speake as a private man, and as such, did freely own my thoughts, that
 this proceeding, thus circumstantiated, could nott bee thought in any sort an
 obstruction to our enquiry. That I knew the committee had, in several in-
 stances, avoided doing things which possibly might administer cause to people
 without doors to hope for disputes between the houses, nothing being more in
 their desire then avoiding such. That I verily believed, the house were of the
 same mind. For which reasons (though I desired itt might bee remembered,
 I tooke upon mee to speake onely as a private man) I was of opinion, noe
 exception would bee taken to this proceeding.

THOMAS BRODRICK TO LORD MIDDLETON.

*Proceedings of the house of commons on the expected report of the secret com-
 mittee.—Substance of part of that report.*

Middleton (February 4, 1720-1.) LAST Tuesday (when by order the mutiny bill
 Papers. was to be reported) four of us were sent from the South Sea house, to putt itt
 of

of for some time; the first order of the day was the call of the house, which was adjourned till Thursday next, by common consent. The day mov'd for the mutiny bill, was next Tuesday fennight. Mr. Secretary, upon that occasion, mov'd for this day fennight, to which wee readily agreed, in speaking to which, hee was pleas'd to say, that by the day fixt for the call in the solemn manner itt was (meaning the revoking all leaves of absence, and ordering circular letters) hee suppos'd that about that time the house might expect that *important* report, so much expected. I spoake after him, taking notice of the intricacy of accounts (affectedly made soe) and the length of time in examining witnesses, whom att present I would call by noe harder name then that of being very unwilling ones, and that when I was obliged to acquaint the house, that without intermission of a day (Sundays and the 30th of January excepted) the committee had satt from nine in the morning till eleven att night, I could nott butt hope the report *so much expected*, had been putt in the best forwardnesse the nature of the thing admitted; that as to the importance, itt must bee refer'd to the judgment of the house, when itt should come before them. But that thus much I would take upon mee to assure the house, and the gent. in particular, that it would bee a fair and honest one, nott reporting any one fact which was not well supported, or omitting a tittle that was soe. I was well heard, without a word of reply made.

We are in such forwardnesse as leaves little roome to doubt my having directions (before the house begins to be call'd) that the committee are ready to lay before the house an account of the progresse they have made in the matters refer'd to them, being by order to report from time to time, att such time as the house should please to receive the same, which I believe may bee the next day, or the Monday following att farthest, Saturday being appointed for taking the report of the mutiny bill. Bee it when it will, perhaps it may appear of more importance then Mr. secretary imagined att the time hee spoake, for though generally speaking, they have been pretty well apprised of what passes among us, from the information of the very persons examined, this insulting speech convinces mee, they doe not receive accounts from any of our number: for wee had the day or two before made some discoveries, which I am sure by the way of speaking, hee was a stranger to, and these naturally lead us since that time into a more perfect and strict enquiry into some things then hee thought of, and which I must believe hee thought us strangers to. Your curiosity will in a short

South Sea.

1721.

Period III. short time bee satisfied, and the nation convinc't that our enquiry has not
 1720 to 1727. been in vaine.

1721.

Five hundred and seventy thousand pound stock was sold by the company att under rates, whilst the bill was depending, att which time the company had noe more then twenty-five thousand reserved for taking in the annuities of 1710. Butt this stock was to bee created afterwards, and in fact was soe, and stands in the company's books as sold to — or fictitious names. Of this great summe, wee have hitherto been able to trace onely about two hundred thousand pounds, Mr. Knight having either destroy'd or secured from us all the secret bookes by which the whole scene of iniquity might have been discovered. I doe nott thinke itt impossible, butt wee may come att a good deal more, by crosse examining and putting things together, butt if wee should faile therein, enough God knows is come to light, to shew how the horse was curried, and by what methods that cursed scheme was carry'd through to the destruction of the nation. The stock was sold att different prices to different persons as they were favourites, and more or lesse usefull, butt to all att soe low rates, as that the difference between the prices delivered to them att, by the company, and the prices they sold out att exceeds a million; butt the truth is, noe stock was ever transfer'd to them, and consequently they sold none, for both the one and the other was fictitious. The method being to pay these good people the difference between the price when sayd to bee sold to them, and the time when they are to bee supposed to have sold out, which being, after passing the bill amounts (as I said before) to above a million.

I know nott whether our cant words and wicked actions will bee readily understood by you, butt I fancy I have made myselfe intelligible, if you revolve the thing in your mind. By these vile means was the bill carry'd, and the execution was of a peice with its formation; six months would nott suffice to descend into the particulars, butt probably a second report may point out some things that are most nottorious and obvious.

THOMAS BRODRICK TO LORD MIDDLETON.

[Endorsed in the hand-writing of lord Middleton.]

That the town is dissatisfied at Mr. Stanhope's acquittal.—Proceedings in the house of commons on the accusation of Charles Stanhope, who is acquitted.

Middleton
Papers.

(March 7, 1720-1.) THE paper (which came last night) was copyied by Charles; and your directions observed; you will in a little time hear from the

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the person to whom itt was delivered, whoe says hee thought you would easily distinguish a letter of compliment (and intended for noe more) from a designe of complying with an unreasonable request. You have heard of Mr. Stanhope's acquittall by a majority of three, which has putt the towne in a flame, to such a degree as you cannott easily imagine: what consequences itt may have I cannott imagine; these I thinke will bee more or lesse by what shall bee done to-morrow, when Mr. Aislebye's case comes on. Lord Stanhope (sonne to lord Chesterfield) carryed of a pretty many, by mentioning in the strongest termes the memory of the late lord of that name: between forty and fifty who could nott bring themselves to give negatives, were however persuaded to withdraw before the question. On the other hand, a great many of the affirmatives are gone out of towne in the utmost rage, many of them nott really displeased att what happened, since itt affords butt too good a handle for fomenting greater discontent in the country. I owne, I thinke it a very bad piece of pollicy, for the whole kingdom are enraged against the South Sea scheme, and not lesse soe, against those whoe support their abettors. You'll soone see, by reading the advertisements, the reason of sending the inclosed paper; Mr. W.* lives opposite to B. Spars.† The two brothers were remarkably the most zealous advocates, and perhaps may prove soe to-morrow,

South Sea.

1721.

* Walpole.
† The Swedish minister.

Quos Jupiter vult perdere dementat prius.

This behaviour (whatever may bee thought) will nott bee forgott, things may for a time be carryed with a high hand, but such violences cannott bee long supported; a scall'd head is soon broken. You'll see by your abstract of the report, that the prooffe was full as strong as the nature of the thing (Knight being gone) would admitt of, and supported by many concurrent circumstances. Sir J. Blunt's evidence was to be villified, for further reasons, which you'll easily guesse att; every body sees through that. The hope of my sister's recovery is most wellcome.

THOMAS BRODRICK TO LORD MIDDLETON.

Aislabe expelled, and committed to the Tower.

(March 9, 1720-21.) YESTERDAY night pass't twelve, Mr. Aislaby's fate was determined, as you will see by the votes, almost the whole time being taken up in examining numbers of witnesses (late directors) call'd by him. The questions propos'd was the same to them all, viz. Whither they knew or had heard of any fictitious stock taken in, or held for him, or of any stock bought for his use with the company's money,

Middleton
Papers.

Period III. to every of which they all answered roundly in the negative, from whence
 1740 to 1727. he argued the certainty, and as he expressed himself even to a demon-
 1721. stration of his innocence, for that 'twas not to be conceived, but they
 must have known the thing. As to the proceedings of the directors (to whom
 he gave all the hard names he could think of) his plea was ignorance. To the
 charge of having great dealings in stock (pending the bill) he sayd nothing,
 otherwise then by insinuation, that doing soe with his own money, he hop'd
 would nott bee criminall. His concerting with the directors taking in the
 1st subscription at 300 per cent. hee dropt, nott saying one word to the
 charge; but an incident happened which gave great disgust to the house.
 The second report takes notice of great dealings in stock between him and
 Mr. Hawes (formerly his clerke as treasurer of the navy) whoe had informed
 the committee, that those accounts were finally adjusted in November last,
 when Mr. Aisleby insisted upon having Mr. Hawes's booke (of which he had
 a duplicate) delivered him, that noe one might see itt, which was done accord-
 ingly uppon his giving Hawes a general release. On Tuesday, a motion was
 made for his laying that book before the house as yesterday, which he opposed,
 as what the house could not demand, for that it related only to his own pri-
 vate account with Hawes, butt was over ruled by the house, and ordered to
 bring in the booke; wherewith nott complying, notice was taken of itt in the
 house. He then desired Mr. Hawes might be examined, whoe sayd att the
 bar, that when he delivered up the booke, both that and the duplicate (in Mr.
 Aislebye's hand) were burnt, of which Mr. Hawes made no mention when
 examined by the committee, nor did Mr. Aisleby on Tuesday; from whence
 'twas concluded that this was an after thought, and the books burnt (if att all) *ex
 post facto*. Hee had on Tuesday imprudently enough said, that if the com-
 mittee should have demanded those books, he would have burnt them before
 their faces.

After his defence, the questions went without other opposition, than what
 was very slender, by Mr. Minshall and Mr. Fuller; sir Richard Steele sayd
 a little, nott very plaine in effect (as I understood him) that the examinations
 did nott sufficiently support the question proposed, butt itt did nott obtaine.
 Mr. Walpole's corner satt mute as fishes. Mr. Fuller, upon one question de-
 manded a division, which was very artfully turn'd of by the speaker, and ge-
 nerally understood with design to obviate the difficulty those in employment
 might lye under, on whatever side they should divide. Thus the matter ended,
 and in return for the fatigue the house underwent, we gott a play day, adjourn-
 ing

ing till to-morrow, when I thinke fir George Caswell will have the same fate. South Sea.

I am told his grace* told a gentleman, that he had very earnestly prest your continuance; I am pretty sure (if soe) he might have sav'd that pains on your account, which I have very often broadly hinted, and indeed spoak itt in plaine terms. I thinke your writing to desire to be discharged very well deserves consideration, and I thinke should nott be long delay'd. I hear (and believe) Horace Walpole is to succeed Mr. Stanhope as one of the secreta-ries of the treasury; you may bee sure 'twill suit his brother's inclination, in case (which is nott doubted) his brother be chancellor of the exchequer, and that Mr. Hopkins (your commissioner) is to be lord lieutenant's secretary.

1721.
• Duke of
Grafton.

THOMAS BRODRICK TO LORD MIDDLETON.

Parliamentary proceedings in the case of fir George Caswell.—Discontents on the acquittal of Stanhope.—Walpole speaks in favour of Aislatic.

(March 11, 1720-1.) YESTERDAY fir George Caswell had Mr. Aislebye's fate, with this further addition, of refunding 250,000*l.* as you'll see by the votes. The day was long enough, though nott soe bad as the other; for we rose just after eight o'clock. Our time was taken up by an insignificant defence, endeavouring to prove that company loofers by the South Sea. The onely material thing insisted upon by him, was a pretence of having given sufficient security for the 50,000*l.* stock, taken in by Knight for them, in order to gett clean of a former resolution.

Middleton
Papers.

The case (as himself opened it, flood thus:) in January or February 1719, (for wee can never fix them to certain times in any instance) hee and company pawned 70,000*l.* stock to the South Sea company, borrowing 105,000*l.* upon itt. The first of March following, Knight takes in the 50,000*l.* fictitious stock for them; upon which, two questions arose. First, whether the pawned stock could (without agreement of parties) remaine a farther security for the 50,000*l.* stock taken in by Knight, even suppose itt would in vallue have answered both; secondly, whether itt would have been sufficient security. The master of the rolls differ'd from his brethren upon the first; insisting that before they should have been lett into the redemption upon payment of the 105,000*l.* they would have been oblidged in equity to have payd for the 50,000*l.* stock taken in by Knight. I must here observe, that long after,

Period III. and att the bar sayd to bee the 13th of May, (though noe witnesse uppon oath
 1720 to 1727. before the committee would fix the time) a note under Cafwell's hand was
 1721. sent to Mr. Knight for 125,000*l.* the price of the 50,000*l.* stock at 250*l.* per cent. As to the second point, 'twas urged (and generally agreed to) that if the South Sea scheme had failed in our house, the 70,000*l.* stock would nott have been near a sufficient security for the 105,000*l.* lent thereon. The master's differing from us, was in my opinion, what lead the managers into the demand of a division uppon the first question; butt they soon saw their error, the yeas being 228, the noes but 92. You'l easily believe the subsequent questions were given up uppon seconding; if I mistake nott, the first question was battail'd to avoid the consequence of our last question, that of refunding. For 'tis generally thought, this stock was in trust for others, and this was in plaine termes spoake strongly to in the debate. Even the master of the rolls declared freely his being of that opinion; going yett farther, that he did nott see how any member could justify buying stock (pending the bill) although he should even have payd ready money for itt. 'Tis nott to bee conceived what satisfaction these two dayes work have given, and indeed 'tis well itt soe happens, for the rage was grown to such highth uppon the acquittal of Stanhope, that noe man can tell when 'twould have ended. Bonfires were made in the citty the day Mr. Aisleby went to the tower.

'Tis sayd, an attack uppon the committee was talkt of in private, and intended, butt we have acted with such caution and candour as to bid defiance. Should any thing of that kind bee attempted, they must have a better posse than appears att present. Our creditt throughout the kingdom will sufficiently support us. Lett them looke to themselves, they stand on a sandy foundation. In debating the motion for a bill against Mr. Aisleby, Mr. Walpole said, impeaching (nott billing ministers) was the way of parliamentary proceeding in time of our ancestors; which was very sinartly animadverted uppon, particularly by the master. He observed (saying that gentleman very well knew) that the course of parliamentary proceedings was alter'd, quite inverted, by rendring all prosecutions by way of impeachments ineffectual; that noe greater instance need bee given then in the present case, wherein the lords had by way of anticipation entered into the examination of what properly belonged to the commons, in order to come to a resolution of the legality of that constitution, made by the treasury, appointing the directors judges, where they were beyond possibility of denyall, partyes; by which means all the public creditors were imposed uppon and defrauded, and which in
 truth

truth, was the first and cheife source of the misfortunes, which have happened.

South Sea.

1721.

Whether our session be drawing towards an end, or will protract into a very long one, is nott in my opinion certaine, though I rather incline to thinke the former, being thoroughly perswaded wee are nott to expect Knight's being brought over. I looke upon this as a two edged sword, which will give a gash either way, those in whose power itt is, will doubtlesly determine upon what they thinke least dangerous, in which there can bee noe doubt as to the present; lett to morrow looke to it selfe.

THOMAS BRODRICK TO LORD MIDDLETON.

Proceedings in the house of commons in the case of the earl of Sunderland.

(March 16, 1720-1.) THAT part of the report of the committee of secrecy, which related to lord Sunderland, and should have been taken into consideration on Tuesday, was att the pressing instances of Mr. Walpole, adjourn'd to yesterday, upon suggestion that itt would bee necessary, for the further information of the house, that the severall wittnesses whoe had been examined by the committee, might bee examined att the bar, since possibly they might nott come up, in every particular whereof they had informed the committee, or might so far explaine their meaning, as to give a very different turne from what the words of their examination might possibly import. Wee very well forelaw gaining a night was chiefly in viewe, and itt had (in my opinion, its effect) for when they came to be examined, upon crosse questions, every one of them strenghtned the report; among the rest ordered to attend, sir John Blunt was one, but his lordship's advocates did nott thinke fit to call him in. The abstract of the report which you have, will evince the strenght of the case, which I own I thinke fuller proved (and soe I sayd) then any of the three cases which had been under consideration.

Middleton
Papers.

The defence made, was entirely different from what I expected, there being (as I apprehended) noe room left for denying the fact, wherefore I concluded the sufficiency of the security (his lordship's note, sworne to have been shew'd sir J. Blunt by Knight) would have been insisted upon, but that point was given up, and his lordship's denyall of any stock taken, or note given, was the subject of three hours debate, after all the papers read, and wittnesses examined; by way of negative prooffe, Mr. Pelham, brother to the duke of Newcastle, and Mr. Walpole, inform'd the house, that his lordship had empowered

Period III. 1720 to 1727. powered them to declare, that noe stock had ever been taken in for him by Knight, or note given, soe that the question in truth was neither more or lesse

1721. then whither wee should give credit to that assertion, or fir John Blunt's oath. A good deal of paines was taken to falsifie the oath, by asking the witnesses att the bar, whither Knight had told them of this stock being taken in presenoe and hearing of fir John Blunt (as he had sworne) they own'd Knight's telling them of the stock soe taken in for lord Sunderland. One of them sayd he was alone with Knight when hee told him of itt; two others own'd fir John's being in the roome when hee told itt them, butt did nott believe him within hearing of what Knight sayd. Such trifling stuff never surely was insisted upon in any other case, and would in any other have been the strongest prooffe of the fact. 'Twas foreseen too well that such a defence was nott to be relyed upon, and therefore the sheet anchor was lord Oxford's play. If you come into this vote against lord Sunderland, the ministry are blowne up, and must, and necessarily will bee succceeded by a tory one. I really thinke I never' heard any thing better debated on the one part, or more weakly on the other; but fir J. Walter's argument of monosyllable, was the best refuge. Yeas 172. Noes 233. I have funke nothing, but tell truly and in short the whole case. I take itt for graunted wee are over the materiall parts of both reports, if what I heard this day in the house prove true. One whoe came out of the citty, told mee, hee believ'd Mr. Craggs dying, if nott actually dead, and gave some circumstances in confirmation of a whisper of his having taken a dose, if soe, itt resembles in great measure lord Effex's case.

THOMAS BRODRICK TO LORD MIDDLETON.

Walpole speaks against a bill for subjecting Aislaby's estates in like manner as the directors'.

Middleton Papers. (April 22, 1721.) WEE were told of a very great struggle and long debate which was to bee yesterday, upon the motion for consolidating Mr. Aislebye's bill with that of the directors, butt it prov'd far otherwife. That motion was lett goe easily, if I mistake nott upon a surmise, that thereby the lords would have a better handle for arguing itt to bee a trick, since that of the directors is for vesting and selling their estates, the other onely for rendering an account of vallue, for which a former bill has past in relation to the directors; butt in this they were well jockeyed by the next (unexpected) motion for providing by a clause, that his estate bee subjected in like manner as the

the directors are. I say unexpected, because Mr. Walpole could not forbear owning it such; hee had not spoke before, but now did with great earnestness, calling it a bill of attainder, or equivalent to such, but the main bent of his speech was to move the passions, by mentioning over and over again wife, children, family, &c. You would have been surprized to have seen how little place this tooke, gentlemen sat like so many statues, without being mov'd by all this oratory, I dare confidently affirme there were not thirty noes, from whence you will easily conclude them discreet enough not to divide. The only persons beside, who spoke against the question, were sir Richard Steele, sir James Campbell, viscount Nevill, Mr. Vernon, brother-in-law to Mr. Aisleby, and Arthur Moore: I am satisfied 'twill goe downe like chopt hay in the other house; they may perhaps send it back with an amendment, by leaving out Mr. Aisleby, to which I thinke the commons will not agree, even though ways and means should be found to take some of, for the waters run low in the usuall place for effecting such designs. I conclude the bill will passe, from believing the lords will not take the load of loosing it upon their shoulders, or rather the ministry, whose influence is allwayes thoroughly understood, and at whose doore (principally) 'twill be layd by the whole nation.

South Sea.

1721.

SAINT JOHN BRODRICK TO LORD MIDDLETON.

*Laments that sufficient punishment will not be inflicted on the directors.—
Accuses Walpole of being their skreen, and of acting in concert with Sunderland.*

(London, May 24, 1721.) I Have been so short a time in town, that your lordship will not expect much news from me, and what little I have heard, is far from being agreeable or indeed proper to be communicated by letter. A great man is determined to spend the summer at a country seat, he has at a very great distance from this place, notwithstanding the orders that were given to fit up a very fine house he has two miles below Kingston, and the declarations that were made of his resolutions to live there this summer. They say, when this matter was open'd to some of his friends, who were call'd together to advise with upon this occasion; there were very warm debates about it, and by much the greater part gave their opinions *very freely* against the journey, and the advisers of it; which however was resolv'd upon by the opinion of two or three, who seem to have a great influence over the gentleman.

Middleton
Papers.

Period III. man. This resolution is kept as a very great secret, for fear of applications
 1720 to 1727. against it from people, who fancy they have a right to intermeddle in the most
 1721. secret transactions of the family, and will in all probability, take upon them
 to do so in this. You may depend upon the truth of what I tell you, and I
 am sure would do so, if 'twere proper for me to name the person from whom
 I received the account of it. After all the pains that have been taken to de-
 tect the villanys of the directors and their friends, I am afraid they will at last
 slip thro' their fingers, and that nothing further will be done as to confiscation,
 hanging, &c. There certainly is a majority in the house of commons, that are
 willing to do themselves and the kingdom justice; but they act so little in con-
 cert together, that they are constantly baffled by a set of men whom guilt,
 money, &c. have link't in the closest bond. 'Tis impossible to tell you of
 what infinite consequence the absence of a friend* of your's is at this time,
 and how uneasy the generality of mankind is at it. He is, without compli-
 ment, the spring that gives motion to the whole body; and the only man that
 either can or will set matters in a true light, and expose and baffle the
 schemes of the *skreen*, &c.

The house were five hours in a committee last Friday upon the Direc-
 tor's bill, and were amus'd and banter'd the whole time by questions and
 amendments propos'd by the *skreen*, &c. so that they rose at last without
 coming to any resolution. They were to be upon the same business again
 this day, but as soon as the house sat, Mr. Lechmere brought in Mist's pa-
 per of this day (which is indeed a most infamous treasonable libel) descanted
 upon it for half an hour, and at last mov'd to censure it, &c. which was ac-
 cordingly order'd. The master of the rolls, Pengelly, Rofs, and five or six
 others speecht for the motion, so that the time was so spun out by this means,
 tho' no body ventur'd to oppose the question, that when the order of the day
 was called for, people seem'd to be tir'd, and readily went into the adjourning
 it till Wednesday. In short, unless this affair takes some new turn, and fresh
 life by that time, you are to expect very little success from the late enquiry,
 for the session is spun out to that vast length, that nothing can keep the coun-
 trey members in town; and you may be assur'd, all proper arguments have
 been made use of by the directors to keep their friends together. I doubt
 the secret committee are not now so unanimous as they have been, and
 that there have been at least two false brethren always among them. His

* Thomas Brodrick, who was absent on account of indisposition.